# National Municipal Review

**Vol. XXXI, No. 9** **Total Number 315**

**Published monthly except August**
**By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE**

**Contents for October 1942**

EDITORIAL COMMENT ..... *A. W.* 474

MANAGEMENT IN A DEMOCRACY ..... *Harold D. Smith* 476

HOUSTON WINS MANAGER CAMPAIGN ..... *Ben Kaplan* 481

THE POLL TAX STIRS REVOLT ..... *Virginius Dabney* 485

MANAGER PLAN BRINGS LANSDOWNE EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY ..... *Frank Stewart* 492

SALEM TAXES AND DEBT DECREASE UNDER MANAGER ..... *John H. Thornton* 494

CHAPEL HILL MANAGER COOPERATES WITH UNIVERSITY ON CITY PROBLEMS ..... *Elwyn A. Mauck* 495

ON THE LOCAL FRONT ..... *Zilpha C. Franklin* 497

THE RESEARCHER'S DIGEST: OCTOBER ..... 501

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW ..... 503

NEWS IN REVIEW ..... 504

Editors: *H. M. Olmsted,* City, State, Nation, 504; *Elwood N. Thompson,* Citizen Action, 511; *Wade S. Smith,* Taxation and Finance, 517; *Elwyn A. Mauck,* County and Township, 519; *George H. Hallett, Jr.,* Proportional Representation, 522

BOOKS IN REVIEW ..... *Elsie S. Parker* 526

---

The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service,* the *Index to Legal Periodicals,* the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service.*

---

**— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —**

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

# Management vs. Dictatorship

IN THE face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, there still are many well intentioned people who feel that democracy demands the popular election of long lists of public officials and that any citizen who can get himself elected is automatically qualified to manage the public's business.

This attitude is as unrealistic as that of the few who still insist on the preservation of a "little red schoolhouse" at every crossroads.

Government, especially local government, is simply a group of services which can be rendered more satisfactorily and economically on a community-wide coöperative basis than they can by the individual. These services have multiplied steadily, in good times and bad. It has been authoritatively stated that 90 per cent of the money now spent for government is for services which did not exist two generations ago.

There is no question about what these services are, how desirable they are, and why they exist—as a result of public demand. An examination of the nature of the services cannot fail to convince that they are jobs which can be done satisfactorily only by trained persons.

While governmental standards have improved vastly in virtually all cities, until it is sometimes said that the worst governed city of today is more efficiently operated than the best governed city of 1900, the highest standards have been set, in general, by communities which have adopted the council-manager form of government.

This form of government, which came into being as a result of a demand for business rather than political management of public affairs, concentrates great administrative authority in the city manager. It is not surprising, in view of this fact, that those who are intent for their own reasons on opposing the rapid spread of this form of government should play on current fears by calling it a dictatorship.

But there is a clear and basic distinction between experts in a democratic government and in a totalitarian government, as the director of the United States Bureau of the Budget, himself an outstanding exponent and example of management brains in government, sets forth in detail in an article in this issue.[1] Richard S. Childs is credited with having once put it in this capsule form: "In a democracy, the expert is on tap, not on top."

So it is in the council-manager plan. The council can dismiss the manager. An official who is at the mercy of the popularly-elected legislative body simply cannot become a dictator. In thirty-two years no manager has become a dictator. In none of the 550 cities and seven counties which have the manager plan is there a manager who has even been

[1]See "Management in a Democracy," by Harold D. Smith, p. 476.

suspected of wishing to aspire to the unbridled power notoriously wielded by some mayors and governors.

The use of the term "manager plan" rather than "council-manager plan" is unfortunate because it tends to obscure the fact that the plan in its approved form assures democratic control by concentrating all powers in a compact, representative council (an outstanding example of the "short ballot") and that it obtains efficiency by concentrating administration in a single officer, the manager, who is appointed by and is responsible to the council. Thus there can be no avoidance of responsibility either by the people's representatives for determination of policy or by the administrative appointee for actual administration.

The obvious truth is that the efficient operation of government as in the council-manager plan is demonstrably more democratic than in any other form and contributes more to the preservation of democracy. It is the answer to those who sometimes wonder whether the dictator nations don't have an important advantage over us in their vaunted ability to get things done.

## A Reason to Be Ashamed

A NEW JERSEY newspaper, apologizing recently for devoting so much space to politics, explained like this:

"In the midst of our nation's all-out war for survival a political battle is raging between two factions of Republicans in Bergen County for the power and pelf that inhere to control of county politics.

"Probably 80 per cent of our readers are not interested in a county political fight for prestige during our nation's fight for survival, but their county newspaper must perforce fulfill its function as a public forum. For that is democracy in action, even though it does seem rather pathetic under the gravest wartime conditions in American history."

This attitude toward a primary election is reminiscent of the "realistic," debunking tribe of authors who saw only sand and ants at picnics, only the seamy side of life, only the unclean in human relationships, only the inadequacies of man.

Fortunately for the kind of life we are now fighting to preserve, all newspapers do not look on the elective process as something tinged with shame and do not believe that this is a time to abandon those things for which we are sacrificing so much. For example, a great Texas newspaper took the leadership in a recent vigorous campaign[1] to rescue the government of Houston, Texas, from political control and make it more efficient. It was quite unashamed of arousing the people of Houston to clean up their own mess and it was equally unashamed of the resounding victory over a venal spoils regime.

And why not? What are we fighting for? How will it hurt the conduct of the war to eliminate waste and worse in local or any other government?

There are many things to be

(Continued on Page 503)

[1]See Houston Wins Manager Campaign, p. 481 this issue.

# Management in a Democracy

***The public administrator in a democracy is encouraged to exercise his skill, to use his judgment, to employ all his talents in performing the functions of government.***

By HAROLD D. SMITH, Director
*U. S. Bureau of the Budget*

MANAGEMENT lies at the core of democratic government. This is equally true in peace and in war. Neither the fruits of peace nor the objectives of war can be gained without bringing into focus the art and science of management. The firmer the foundation of management in times of peace, the less the strain on democratic government at war.

With the peacetime expansion of the rôle of government in our national life there came a new awareness of the important rôle of management. Now, with war calling for the maximum concentration of all resources to achieve victory, it is imperative that the tool, management—for it is only a tool—be sharpened and adjusted to the task. It must be used thoughtfully and skillfully, for without such conscious application all other resources become less useful.

The rôle of management in a democratic society has received scant attention from political scientists and political philosophers. Yet, it is a subject which must be explored far beyond the boundaries of judicial decisions and legislative enactments, right down to the very foundations of society.

The setting for management—this political and philosophical background—is of utmost importance. If the setting is clearly defined and generally understood, management can be used to the fullest in the service of democracy. Conversely, if the setting is vaguely drawn or falsely presented, then management will lose prestige and competence. Management cannot be expected to function properly in an atmosphere in which it is accused of being weak and ineffective on the one hand, and possessed of powerful revolutionary tendencies on the other.

Efficient management in government is not incompatible with democracy. Rather, such management tends to insure democracy against internal and external attacks.

There are those who express alarm at the growth of scientific management in the affairs of the state. Are we to be subjected to a "new bureaucracy" in government—a bureaucracy of managerial experts? Are we to be required to sacrifice our democratic freedoms in order to gain efficiency in government? Are we to be led into a totalitarian system where the manager will rule the destiny of the common man? These are crucial questions and we should face them squarely.

The prevailing criticism pictures bureaucracy as paralyzed by inertia, bound by unnecessary procedural restrictions, and lacking in imagination. On the other hand, there is a mounting criticism that the administration is aggressive, over-ambitious, all too

eager to seize responsibilities. In short, we are told that instead of being submerged in apathy and dullness—the common accusation of the past—now management has risen to such heights that it seeks a position of power which menaces democratic society.

The new criticism is quite as inaccurate as the traditional one. Our problem is to see clearly the integral rôle of management in our society and to learn how to evaluate administration in accordance with democratic standards. This requires the same careful thought that has already been given to the setting of the legislative and judicial branches of the government. Since no modern government lacking competent administration can expect to survive, there needs to be much clear thinking about the rôle of management and popular understanding of the process.

Unfortunately, we have made it difficult for people to appreciate this process. Officials and scholars concerned with administrative management have, for instance, built up a jargon of their own. Around the field of public administration they have erected a barbed-wire fence of terminology. Such terms as staff function, integration, allocation of duties, span of control, and lines of authority, are now used freely by public administrators to describe various aspects of their jobs. The layman who attempts to hurdle the fence of terminology for a better look at the other side sometimes gets tangled up with the wire and rather badly pricked by the word-barbs. This professional terminology tends to obstruct public understanding of the rôle of the administrator.

As a matter of fact, the process of management is less mysterious than the terminology would indicate. Simply stated, public management in a democracy provides the means for organizing the available resources and for guiding the combined efforts of many men toward common ends. It operates within the framework of broad policy established by the people; its purpose is to effectuate the will of the people. Therefore, those who are entrusted with the management of government in a democracy rightfully must find their mandate in the voice of the nation, must limit their activities to carrying out this mandate, and must hold themselves accountable to the source of final authority which lies in the people.

### Place of the Manager

Governmental administration because of its sheer enormity calls for the most expert attention. Even before the present emergency certain long-time trends showing the significance of management were evident in our national life. As business organizations grew in size and number, management was called upon to organize and to direct. As governmental agencies multiplied and added new public services in response to public demand, management again was asked to solve the problems of large-scale organization.

For years it was the common belief that almost any person could successfully administer the public's business. During those years, some far-seeing persons argued for special training and special capacity for public administrators. But the functions

of government being few and relatively simple, the need for training was not a pressing one. As government became the biggest undertaking of the nation, more and more people began to realize that the need for qualified administrators was as great in public services as in industry. Today our schools and colleges, our professional organizations, and a substantial part of our population agree that particular talents and training are required to cope with the problems of government.

The nineteenth century idea that any honest citizen, regardless of his training or his ability, could effectively carry out the duties of public administration is supplanted by the twentieth century belief that knowledge and ability are necessary. Today, when the duties of government range from inspection of a farmer's dairy to leadership in the greatest war of all time, skill in public management assumes unparalleled importance.

The development of public administration as a profession and the emergence of the government manager causes concern in some quarters. It is feared that a new class of managers is gathering strength to seize the power to control mankind, and that such control will, in turn, be used to force into our system of government a new bureaucracy, a bureaucracy of managerial experts.

I do not share this fear. The manager has a key place in the scheme of large-scale organization, whether it be business or government. It is the manager who takes the products of the scientist's research from their laboratory isolation, joins them with the products of other research, fits them into new patterns, and then produces articles so cheaply that our lives are enriched. It is the manager who takes over after the engineer has harnessed the power of the waterfall and who directs the supply of electricity to hundreds of homes which never had it before. In government, as in industry, the men who do the planning and the organizing and the guiding are essential cogs in the complicated mechanism of modern civilization, cogs which mesh the gears of production to the drive shaft of human wants and needs.

**Democratic Use of Management**

Nor do I fear that the expansion of governmental functions and the continuing improvement of their management will finally lead us into totalitarian rule. It is true that the dictators have successfully used the resources of management. To accomplish their purposes they have designed plans, organized human and material resources, directed the use of these resources, and gained national unity to a high degree. But management for totalitarian purposes and management for democratic purposes have widely different objectives. The objective of the totalitarian states is war and conquest, to which they are driven by inner compulsion. Glorification of the state as an absolute entity results in a fanatical zeal to achieve dominance for that state in a world which is presumed to be hostile. The resulting tragedies are written in the blood of those whom the state pretends to "serve."

While the dictators have achieved

a temporary efficiency in government by their exploitation of management, this much vaunted efficiency turns out to be an organized conspiracy on the part of a small oligarchy intent upon personal aggrandizement. This use of management may build a great war machine, but it will not build a lasting government.

Certain limitations prevent the full development of management in the totalitarian state, limitations which do not exist in the democratic state. In a totalitarian state, management serves the clique exploiting the people for its own ends. Management in a democracy, on the other hand, serves all the people—serves the entire citizenry of which management itself is a part.

Acquiescence through fear, which must characterize management in a dictatorship, is not the productive coöperation that is achieved when officials seek to advance the public welfare. A government where action is based on fear cannot long remain competent. Artificial stimuli may shock management into accomplishment for a time, but the shot-in-the-arm technique cannot measure up to the stimulation which comes from a genuine regard for the group served.

Consequently, public management in a democracy has the initial advantage in that it is committed to act for the citizenry with which its own interests are identified. Its loyalty is to that citizenry rather than to some mystic symbol masking the gang in power. Its efforts are directed toward improving the well-being of that citizenry rather than toward furthering the purpose of the "state" at the expense of the individuals who comprise the state. In the one case, the state uses the people; in the other, the state is of use to the people. Public management in a democracy thus rests on an enduring foundation constructed by the people, a foundation which contributes to the effective conduct of government.

### Democracy and Efficiency

But the fact that management in a democracy proceeds from the people does not in itself assure efficiency in carrying out governmental functions. Indeed, it has been said that inefficiency characterizes the government of a democracy and is the price paid for freedom, while in a dictatorship the people are compensated for the loss of their liberties by administrative effectiveness. The implication here is that, to gain efficiency in democratic government, management must obliterate individual liberties.

This implication is fallacious. According to the totalitarian philosophy, the good of the state takes precedence over the good of the individual. In a system which adheres to this concept the individual becomes merely an automaton of the ruling power—without personality that he dares to exhibit, without ideas he dares to express, without initiative he dares to use. Furthermore, a dictator cannot tolerate competition. For the dictator to permit the unhindered development of all the human beings within the state—their skills, their abilities, their ambitions—would be to endanger his own position of supremacy. The strength of the dictator depends upon his power to exploit the fears and phobias of his followers and to crush the hatreds

that his tyranny has aroused.

Under the democratic concept the citizen is not only free but he is encouraged to strive for personal advancement, to voice his thoughts, and to show his resourcefulness. Democracy draws its strength from the employment of the best talents and skills of free men and women.

The sharp contrast in the totalitarian and the democratic concepts concerning the individual has great significance when applied to management. Totalitarian subordination of individual worth restrains public management from making the maximum use of human abilities. Initiative and enterprise are stifled. Opportunities to propose new methods, to improve old techniques, to suggest alternative plans, exist only within the very restricted area laid out by the controlling power. The public manager who is "too good" in his field, "too clever" in his approach, "too effective" in his job soon becomes "too dangerous" in the totalitarian system. He must walk carefully along the narrow road of totalitarian policy, or he will slip into the deep ditch of oblivion which the dictator reserves for those whose zeal exceeds the confines set for them.

### Goal of Administration

Regimented action is not truly efficient action. True efficiency results when men are free from fear and thus genuinely free to apply their intelligence, their training, and their enthusiasm to their tasks. Democracy provides a superior atmosphere for creative effort on the part of the individual. Within pre-established policies, the public administrator in a democracy is encouraged to exercise his skill, to use his judgment, to employ all his talents in performing the functions of government.

That democracy is inefficient and fumbling is a fallacy based upon a misreading of our experience. It is true that in periods of vacillating legislative policy management may appear ineffective. Yet, seeming disorder and a confused sense of direction are a natural result of the variety of goals which men envision under a system that permits wide differences of opinion.

Viewed in the aggregate the diversity of aims seems disorderly, but we must have that diversity if we are to have freedom for choice. Once the decision to follow one course is made, a democratic government is capable of effective action because the mass of citizens more fully understands—and is in sympathy with — the objectives. In recent months we have seen democracy make up its mind, and our enemies shall discover how effective management in that democracy can be.

We are, then, seeking to build up a management of government which fully utilizes the talent and skill of managers, keeps itself responsive to the social conscience, and preserves such able, orderly, and unobtrusive administration as will facilitate the translation of national aspirations into realities. Such is the sound rôle for management in a democracy.

---

Editor's Note.—Based on address before joint session of the American Society for Public Administration and the American Political Science Association, New York City, December 1941.

# Houston Wins Manager Campaign

***Aroused by city's serious health problem citizens led by newspaper editor unite in successful campaign for charter changes.***

By BEN KAPLAN
*Houston Press*

AROUSED housewives and physicians, appalled at public health conditions, have finally succeeded, in face of the bitter opposition of a political machine, in securing the council-manager plan for Houston. On January 1, 1943, Houston will become the third largest city in the nation to operate with a city manager at the helm.

Houston's metropolitan area population approximates 500,000 and it is the largest city in Texas and second largest in the south.

Adoption of the council-manager plan was voted August 15 with the passage of four charter amendments and the defeat of five other amendments which would have set up the mayor-commission form.

The council-manager amendments were adopted by a five to four margin while the mayor-commission amendments were buried by three to one. Four years ago a similar manager plan was defeated by 427 votes.

Hundreds of voluntary workers, with the women providing the spark, put this question to the voters: "Which form of government will help the war effort most?"

Under the banner of the Citizens Charter Committee these workers contended that only through better government could better health be achieved and that better health, particularly in an army camp and war industry center such as Houston, was a prime essential. They also argued that the city manager form would save $500,000 a year from Houston's $10,000,000 municipal government (exclusive of schools) cost.

Arguments raised against adoption of the city manager system were that it was dictatorial, that wartime was no time to change the form of government, that a change of elected officials was sufficient to improve efficiency at the City Hall.

These arguments were pretty well demolished by the Citizens Charter Committee, which had a harder time running down half-truths and outright falsifications issued by some members of the opposition camp. Some of these whispering campaign untruths were that adoption of the city manager plan would permit Negroes a vote in the Democratic primary in November, that so-and-so (usually an unpopular individual) would be named city manager, that a city birth control clinic would be established. This latter was designed to antagonize Catholics.

Prominent lay Catholics, including Robert Kelley and Charles Perlitz, well known lawyers, and Dr. Maurice Meynier, Jr., a prominent physician, took the stump and appeared on the radio to nail the bigotry injected into the campaign.

Of the three daily Houston newspapers, the *Press*, a Scripps-Howard paper, was the lone supporter of the

council-manager plan. The morning *Houston Post* remained silent editorially although many of its news stories were critical of the plan. The *Houston Chronicle,* a Jesse Jones enterprise, savagely attacked the manager plan both editorially and in news columns.

The *Press-Chronicle* fight created added interest in the campaign and was one of the most bitter newspaper battles in the city's history.

"Without the *Press's* support the city manager plan would never have carried," admitted Homer F. Lyles, a city commissioner who as nominal head of the fire department helped direct the anti-manager campaign.

The Citizens Charter Committee headed by a former Houston mayor, R. H. Fonville, frankly credited the *Press* with the manager plan victory.

Houston's municipal government has been in a constant muddle for more than a decade.

The city charter provided for a "strong" mayor and four commissioners elected at large. Invariably the city commissioners would "gang up" on the mayor, however, and demand and get control of individual departments—the major ones being the tax, fire, public works, and water departments.

This system, despite the personnel of the elected officials, led to interminable wranglings. Log-rolling was the rule. Every year budget clashes would develop in the struggle to get the lion's share for favorite departments, many of which degenerated into patronage machines.

Four of the city's five former mayors openly came out for adoption of the city manager plan.

The origins of the city manager drive in Houston lay with a group of women, most of them members of the League of Women Voters, who became interested in public health. This group was joined by the Houston Council of Church Women and both began an intensive study of health conditions in the city.

Their interest was spurred by the mass resignation of physicians serving as the City Health Board. The medical men, their recommendations snubbed, resigned in protest against political operation of the health department.

Venereal disease grew so bad that army authorities frequently protested. Contagious disease was on the increase. Once, disgusted with the inefficiency of the city health department's milk division, the State Health Department cut off state aid. Already the rabies capital of America, Houston's unenviable rabies record grew worse.

The outraged women demanded revamping of the civil service to take the health department out of politics, feeling this would partially solve the problem. Unanimously, City Council agreed to hire Public Administration Service to straighten out the civil service system. A month later the Council bluntly went back on its promise and the women this time decided a change to the city manager system was the one effective way to get the job done.

Former Mayor Fonville and Lee M. Sharrar, a former Rice Institute professor, appealed to Council to call an election on four charter amendments providing for a nine-member council who would appoint

the city manager. Five of the eight councilmen would be required to live in certain districts. The other three could live anywhere in the city. The eight councilmen and the mayor would all run at large, with a $2,000 salary for the mayor and a maximum of $1,500 a year for councilmen.

Council refused to call the election.

In three weeks' time, the Citizens Charter Committee's volunteer house-to-house women workers rolled up more than 16,000 signatures on petitions to initiate the election.

By law, Council had to call the election.

In order to confuse the issue, Council then did two things. It inspired a counter-series of charter amendments, setting up a $10,000-a-year mayor and providing for six commissioners at $6,000 a year. Present salaries are $7,500 for the mayor and $3,600 for the four commissioners, plus $60 a month car allowances.

Secondly, Council sandwiched the charter election in between the first and second state and county primary elections. In vain, the Charter Committee protested that the added election expense was wasteful. Council stood firm, convinced that a large vote on either primary election date would put over the charter amendments setting up the manager system while with a small turnout of voters, the city machine vote would defeat the manager plan.

Robert Waltrip, chairman of the Civil Service Commission, took occasion to warn the 2,800 city employees to stay out of the campaign, citing a city ordinance against political campaigning by city employees.

Council's answer was to amend the ordinance so that employees could campaign—and since the commissioners opposed the manager amendments, their action was interpreted by employees as an order to go out and fight the manager amendments.

The *Houston Press* conducted a symposium and citizens all over the city, including several federal civil service officials, protested that Council's action was high-handed. Waltrip observed the new "politicking" ordinance made a joke out of civil service.

The city's firemen most actively and openly campaigned to defeat the amendments. Efforts were made to get labor unions to oppose them, but from Dallas and Fort Worth came union leaders who asserted their advocacy of the city manager plan.

Rapidly the issue became one between a political machine and political amateurs. The amateurs, fired by their cause, outmaneuvered their opponents.

The *Press,* which earlier had sent a staff reporter to write what he found good and bad in the major city manager cities in Texas, developed many articles recounting deficiencies in the city's operations. It showed that the water department income had fallen off by tens of thousands of dollars. It showed that despite a near-record budget, the street and bridge department was spending only about 20 per cent for materials and the remainder to maintain patronage men on the payroll and for gasoline and motor repairs.

The *Press* contrasted this picture

with the scores of unpaved streets, deferred maintenance on sewers, and failure to provide adequate drainage.

Department after department was thus analyzed and when city manager opponents sought to claim the city tax rate in Dallas, under a city manager, was higher than in Houston, the *Press* showed that the reverse was true. The city manager opponents deliberately had included the Dallas school rate and omitted the Houston rate.

Churchmen, including Bishop Clinton S. Quin of the Episcopal Church, came out for the manager plan. Industrialists such as William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of Commerce and head of the world's largest cotton house, and George Verity, head of the parent company of Houston's Sheffield Steel Company, endorsed the manager plan.

The Houston Medical Society, with more than five hundred physicians, came out for the manager plan and such physicians as Dr. John T. Moore, former president of the Texas Medical Association, and many past and present officials of the local society, made public speeches. The local society even inserted newspaper advertisements advocating the manager plan.

Similarly, the Houston Health League with nurses, doctors, dentists, and druggists, came out for the manager plan.

J. S. Bracewell, former president of the Houston Bar Association, offered to turn against the city manager plan if the opposition could produce a former city mayor, or former city attorney, or former city engineer not actively identified with the "antis" who would challenge his statement that $500,000 a year savings would accrue from adoption of the manager plan.

The challenge went unanswered.

Cartoons used by the *Press*, together with front page editorials by Editor Allan C. Bartlett, were effectively used by the Citizens Charter Committee.

The contention that the war was no time to change the form of government was answered by business men and industrialists who pointed to bungled civilian defense matters by City Council, preventing full benefit from the work of volunteer defense workers. Elimination of waste in municipal government was made more necessary than ever by the war, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Clayton and Clarence Dykstra, former city manager of Cincinnati and University of Wisconsin president, said.

With a decisive victory won, the Houston Citizens Charter Committee is remaining on the alert to prevent the political groups who fought the city manager plan from gaining the whiphand. The Committee will take an active part in the November Democratic primary at which candidates for City Council will be nominated. High caliber men are being counted on to run.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

# The Poll Tax Stirs Revolt

***The south is awakening with considerable rapidity to the iniquitous character of this admission fee to the polling booth.***

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY, Editor
*Richmond Times-Dispatch*

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below is from Chapter IV, "Barriers to the Ballot," of Mr. Dabney's recent book, *Below the Potomac—a Book About the New South.* Copyright 1942 by D. Appleton-Century Company, reprinted by permission of the publisher.

FROM the crags above Harpers Ferry to the mesas fringing the Rio Grande a revolt is brewing against the poll tax. The strength of the movement varies in each of the eight southern states which retains the levy as a prerequisite to voting, but it is definitely a movement. It was well under way before President Roosevelt, in September 1938, called for elimination of the tax, and it has since gained much impetus. The opposition seems at last to be definitely on the defensive in the face of the gathering wave of resentment, and this barrier to the ballot may fall in several states during the next few years.

The poll tax has an ancient, if not always honorable, history. Aristotle refers to it as a "most ignominious imposition" which "none but slaves paid to their tyrants." It was levied by the conquering Romans upon the peoples they reduced to subjection, and was considered at that period to be an earnest of servitude. A thousand years later Wat Tyler led the peasants of England in a bloody rebellion against the tax, and although the uprising was put down many of its objectives were achieved.

Today in the south the tide of revolt is rising. Louisiana and Florida abolished the levy on the franchise in the middle 1930's, and an effort toward repeal in Arkansas received legislative approval in 1937, only to be voted down by the people the following year in a referendum which saw the politicians and the press aligned almost solidly in opposition.

The year 1941 marked the emergence of the Southern Electoral Reform League, with active members in each poll-tax state and machinery for presenting repeal arguments to the voters. In Tennessee, where Jennings Perry, associate editor of the *Nashville Tennessean* and league president, is in a position to push the fight with especial vigor, the outlook is rather propitious. Thirty counties abolished the poll tax in 1941 as a prerequisite for voting in county elections. In Virginia, where no candidate for governor ever before announced prior to election that he favored even so much as modification of the poll-tax law, three of the four candidates in the Democratic primaries of 1941 urged outright appeal.

This admission fee to the ballot box is, of course, the fruit of the reconstruction era. Various restrictions upon the voting privilege were imposed in the form of property requirements and other similar limitations during most of the colonial and

the ante-bellum periods, but the poll tax as we know it was framed late in the nineteenth century as a device primarily designed to sunder the liberated Negro slaves from the polling booth.

After the orgies of reconstruction some such device was deemed necessary, for widespread electoral fraud had been resorted to by desperate whites during the post-bellum years, and well disposed southerners considered such a situation intolerable. So, as the turn of the century neared, the southern states began enacting franchise requirements which were, in most instances, technically legal. By the early 1900's every state below the Potomac and the Ohio had fallen into line except Kentucky, which never enacted a poll tax. In addition a variety of residence, property, and educational qualifications were imposed throughout the south. Almost all the Negroes were effectively disfranchised.

But a substantial percentage of the whites also were disfranchised. If such was the intention of the framers of these constitutional provisions and statutes, the writer has been able to discover only a limited amount of evidence to that effect. Dr. H. C. Nixon of Vanderbilt University has pointed out that "it was generally understood and frankly stated that these measures for regulating and restricting registration for voting were designed to take the Negro out of politics but to 'disfranchise no white man.'" In Louisiana, for example, the chairman of the constitutional convention said: "Doesn't it let the white man vote, and doesn't it stop the Negro from voting, and isn't that what we came here for?"

Over against such manifestations as these, however, one must place the fact that in some states, as pointed out by C. Vann Woodward, the biographer of Thomas E. Watson, certain influential whites were anxious to disfranchise the Populist vote, while the upstate masses of whites were openly skeptical at times concerning the white-supremacy rationalization of the disfranchisers.

### Small Vote in Poll-Tax States

But whatever the intentions of the men who erected these barriers to the southern ballot box, the fact is that today, from a third- to a half-century later, the number of persons of both races who are prevented by them from voting is enormous. That is particularly true in the poll-taxed states, where the number of whites participating in the business of electing candidates to office is by far the lowest in the Union.

In the presidential election of 1936, for example, the nine states which then had the poll tax sent only 24 per cent of their adult citizens to the polls, whereas in the thirty-nine other states 72 per cent voted. In 1940 the south made an even more deplorable showing, for the percentage of its adults who exercised their sovereign right dropped to 21.1 in the eight states with poll taxes. The fact that in the rest of the country there was a slight decrease to 70.6 per cent is relatively unimportant, since a popular participation in excess of 70 per cent is reasonably adequate.

To what extent is the low percent-

age in the eight above-mentioned states attributable to the fact that so few Negroes vote? That is part of the answer, of course, but by no means all. The whites outnumber the Negroes by large majorities in all but one southern state today, and in that one, Mississippi, the whites enjoy a slight numerical superiority. In other words, the proportion of whites who vote in these eight states is but a fraction of those who do so in the rest of the country. Estimates which seem reliable place the proportion of adult whites voting in these states at a low of 18 per cent for South Carolina and a high of 33 per cent for Tennessee. This is partly accounted for by the comparative lack of competition from the Republicans in the south, with a corresponding lack of interest, and by the other franchise restrictions in addition to the poll tax. However, it cannot be doubted that this levy, which ranges from one to two dollars a year, bears a large share of the responsibility.

It is argued, occasionally, that the white voters of the poll-taxed states do, in fact, exercise the franchise freely in the Democratic primaries, and that aspersions based upon the small number of voters in elections are therefore unjustified (Negroes are banned from these primaries in nearly all southern states). But the late Representative Geyer of California torpedoed that argument with an analysis of the seventy-eight Democratic primaries held in the poll-taxed states during 1940 for the choice of representatives in Congress. More than half of them—forty-two to be exact—were uncontested, while in the thirty where primary elections were held, fewer than one-third as many voters took part as in the general elections for members of Congress in other parts of the country.

Why has the poll tax persisted in the south? There are various reasons. In the first place, the conviction persists in many parts of the region that this device is still necessary to the maintenance of "white supremacy." In the second place, the political leaders often favor retention of the levy, since those who have been chosen to office by a limited electorate naturally prefer not to risk the uncertainty of a contest in which thousands of new voters take part. Again, those interests which prefer to see political power remain in the hands of the "upper crust" of propertied voters, rather than in those of the masses, likewise back the *status quo*. Lastly, the attitude of the disfranchised whites has been, in the main, either indifferent or inarticulate until recent years.

### Conditions under Poll Tax

What have been the political and social consequences of the levy? It has tended to encourage corruption, for the wholesale payment of taxes by political organizations is a common practice. Another result has been the partial atrophy of the democratic process, owing to limited participation by the people in that process. Another is that it has placed obstacles in the way of securing needed social and labor legislation in states where so many beneficiaries of this legislation cannot vote.

Mississippi still has no workmen's compensation law, while Arkansas, Florida, and South Carolina passed

such legislation only in recent years. Virginia, North Carolina, and Louisiana are the only southern states which limit women's work to forty-eight hours per week. Child labor legislation and state labor departments are considerably less effective in the south than elsewhere, and the only southern states with minimum wage laws are Kentucky, Louisiana, and Arkansas. The first two have no poll tax, and the $1.25 a day minimum in Arkansas makes the law there largely meaningless.

### Reform Movements Difficult

This tax also makes movements for reform in state or local government more difficult than in regions where it is not levied. Political machines see that their followers' capitation taxes are paid up, with the result that, when the ordinary independent voter becomes aroused a short time before election, it is apt to be past the deadline for making the payment, or he may have to pay several years' back taxes before he can vote. In Virginia, for example, he must pay up for three years, if his tax for that period is in arrears, or approximately five dollars, including penalties. In Georgia the levy is cumulative for seven years, making a maximum of $15.50 in tax and interest which can be assessed, while in Alabama a man under forty years of age can be required to pay his back tax of $1.50 for every year since he reached the age of twenty-one.

Those who favor abolition of the capitation levy contend that the tax might be justified if anybody could show that the states which have it enjoy an obviously better brand of state and local government than those which do not. But they ask whether it can be seriously argued that South Carolina, Mississippi, or Georgia is better governed than, say, Connecticut, Kansas, or Colorado. They point out, further, that nearly every notorious political mountebank who has risen in the twentieth century has been chosen by a poll-taxed electorate, so that the tax is obviously no protection against such exhibitionists. In the case of Huey Long, the most notorious of all, a poll-taxed electorate made him the czar of Louisiana, but his machine was finally smashed by voters who no longer had to pay such an admission fee to the ballot box. The fee was abolished after the establishment of the dictatorship. Thus a corrupt, authoritarian regime was established under the aegis of the very tax which is supposed to prevent such eventualities, while the rascals were turned out by the type of enlarged and relatively unrestricted electorate which many believe to be conducive to graft and demagoguery.

Those who favor retention of the poll tax frequently say that "if a man isn't willing to pay a dollar or two a year to vote, he isn't much of a citizen," an argument which ignores the fact that in times of economic stress, and even in boom times, there are thousands whose meager incomes will not permit even so small a cash outlay. Another argument on behalf of the levy is that since in the eight poll-taxed states the proceeds from these payments go wholly or partly to public education, abolition of the capitation tax would cause the schools to suffer. But the poll-taxed states do

not enforce collection of this so-called tax, which is really a voluntary payment. The consequence is that receipts are far below what they would be if it were a regularly collected head tax on every adult, proceeds from which would be devoted to public education.

Those who favor the *status quo* in the realm of the poll tax likewise argue that it is unwise to throw the polls open to urban laborers, rural share-croppers, and other underprivileged elements with possibly prehensile tendencies.

Whatever the validity of this argument in other spheres, it certainly has little in so far as old-age pension schemes are concerned. This is because six of the eight poll-taxed states exempt from payment persons who have arrived at a certain age. In one the exemption begins at age forty-five, in one at age fifty, and in four at age sixty.

### "Device of Corruption"

The poll tax is, of course, a well known vehicle of corruption, for despite laws forbidding the payment of such levies *en bloc* by political machines, such payments are made with great regularity in many parts of the south. The defeated machine in San Antonio, a notorious and reactionary organization, tried to use the Texas law, which forbids loans or gifts of money for the payment of poll taxes, against former Mayor Maury Maverick, one of the south's most aggressive advocates of poll-tax reform and cleaner elections. Mayor Maverick was acquitted of lending money to members of a labor union so they could qualify to vote for him, but plenty of this sort of thing goes on. Usually the payments are made by entrenched and sinister politicians, bent on sandbagging the public.

Opponents of suffrage reform in the south are wont to argue at times that poll-tax repeal wouldn't affect appreciably the size of the electorate, and that therefore one of the major objectives of the repealists would not be achieved. It is impossible to understand the basis of their contention, since practically all the figures are against them. The effects of the poll tax upon the size of the electorate were manifest from the time it was applied. In Tennessee, for example, 90 per cent of the adult male population voted in the presidential contest in 1888. By 1892, after the poll tax became effective, the percentage dropped to 70. By 1904 it was 58 per cent, by 1920 it was 46 per cent, by 1928 it was 34 per cent, and by 1940 it had fallen to 28 per cent. These figures are for both white and colored. In Virginia, following the application of the poll tax to the electorate, the white vote was cut almost exactly in half, to say nothing of the colored vote. More recently, repeal of the tax in Louisiana and Florida was followed by huge increases in the number of white voters. In the latter state the total vote in the first regular Democratic primary following repeal underwent an increase of 100 per cent.

It is argued that these new voters are merely riff-raff, who are not sufficiently interested in their government to pay a dollar or two a year to exercise the franchise. Then what of the thousands who are disqualified by the requirement that the tax be paid so

long in advance of the election as to render voting impossible to those who become interested in a given contest after the deadline? (Payment of the tax must be made from six to ten months in advance of the election in Georgia, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.) Consider also the results of a survey made at Alabama Polytechnic Institute in 1940 to determine the effect of the tax upon the eligibility of the faculty to vote. No fewer than seventy-eight teachers and thirty-five other staff members were found to be ineligible because they had not registered and paid their poll taxes. All could have voted if they had fulfilled these requirements. The seventy-eight teachers comprised 37 per cent of the teaching staff at the institute.

### Aid to "Bosses"

A different sort of abuse of the electoral process exists in Tennessee, where the boss-controlled vote of Memphis is large enough to swing almost any state election. The result is that the Memphis machine, ruled by Edward H. Crump, otherwise yclept the "Red Snapper," controls Tennessee to all intents and purposes. Here again the poll tax makes that control easier than it would otherwise be, for we have noted that the tax plays into the hands of machines everywhere. Not only does the levy enable the Crump machine to control the vote more readily through block payments, but it keeps the total vote of all parties in Tennessee down to around 400,000. With the Memphis organization able to throw 100,000 Democratic votes in any direction it sees fit, Tennessee has virtually become a political fief of "Boss" Crump, who controls not only the governor but also the state legislature.

It was this same "Boss" Crump who knifed the move to repeal the poll tax in Tennessee, after both he and Cooper, his gubernatorial stooge, had openly advocated repeal. Mr. Cooper did so in 1938, prior to his first election to the governorship. But when the legislature met the following year, all poll-tax-repeal bills were smothered, despite the fact that the Governor seemed to be able to get through any bills he really wanted. Up for reëlection in 1939, Cooper reiterated his advocacy of repeal, and Crump echoed his sentiments. Advocates of lowering the voting requirements took heart, and a concerted drive was organized. Jennings Perry of the *Nashville Tennessean* wrote a series of articles in support of repeal, which was published simultaneously in that paper and in the *Memphis Press-Scimitar, Chattanooga Times*, and *Knoxville News-Sentinel*.

Despite this powerful press support and the apparent fact that a majority of the members of the legislature, as candidates for the law-making body the previous year, had endorsed repeal, it was chloroformed at the session of 1941. The bill was put to sleep by the very pair who had urged its passage shortly before—Crump and Cooper.

The campaign against the poll tax in the Volunteer State should be facilitated by the presence of the inevitable corruption which is an integral part of the system there, as elsewhere. Several persons were convicted recently of distributing counterfeit poll-tax receipts in Chattanooga. Such a

conviction is a rare achievement, for usually the laws against this sort of thing are so dependent upon machine officeholders for their enforcement that convictions are hardly ever obtained.

The Southern Electoral Reform League's rôle in Tennessee and other southern states with poll taxes may be important. The league adopted a resolution at its first meeting, approving the Geyer bill for congressional repeal of the poll tax in so far as it applies to federal elections, but some of the League's officers and members do not desire to see this legislation passed. Far better that the individual states should resolve this knotty question for themselves.

### Federal Court Decisions

Until late in 1941 there was the possibility that the result sought by the Geyer and Pepper bills would be achieved through court action. Although the United States Supreme Court held in a unanimous opinion in the Breedlove case of 1937 that the Georgia poll tax was constitutional, a test of the Tennessee tax as a prerequisite to participation in elections of congressional candidates was initiated by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. The district and circuit courts had ruled in this case that the tax does not contravene the constitution, but it was felt that the Supreme Court might decide, despite its opinion as to the Georgia tax, that convincing new arguments had been found, since this case involving one Henry Pirtle, was presented to the court on a different basis from Georgia's Breedlove case of some years before. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court declined even to hear argument, and the effort to outlaw the tax by this means collapsed. The effect of a contrary ruling upon southern opinion would not have been salutary, although it would doubtless have evoked a less violent response than would follow the adoption of a congressional act by the north and west over the south's reverberating protest.

Whatever the final disposition of the matter in the courts, and the ultimate arbitrament of the Congress, the fact remains that the south is awakening with considerable rapidity to the iniquitous character of this admission fee to the polling booth. More and more southerners are arriving at the conclusion that there is no proper relationship between the size of one's bank roll and one's fitness to exercise the franchise in a democracy. Young men are being drafted by the thousands, and trained for the defense of their country, with no questions asked concerning their payment or nonpayment of poll taxes. Yet these same young men are not considered competent to vote unless they have complied with archaic and outmoded requirements instituted some decades ago, at a time when conditions bore no resemblance to these which prevail today. Small wonder, then, that the poll tax is under fire in the south, and that the fire is getting hotter.

— Buy United States War Bonds and Stamps —

# Manager Plan Brings Lansdowne Efficiency and Economy

By FRANK STEWART
*Editor, Delaware County Times*

AS LANSDOWNE Borough in Pennsylvania casts a backward glance over the past twenty years and reviews the progress it has made under the manager plan of government, it can come to only one conclusion—that this form of government is synonymous with the highest efficiency. Through it the borough has attained an eminence which marks it as the outstanding community in Delaware County and one of the most progressive in the state.

Twenty years ago the Borough Council of Lansdowne, by ordinance dated March 1922, adopted the manager plan, being the second municipality in the state to take such a step. Borough citizens have ever since been extremely grateful for this foresightedness, for the new form of government brought about an efficiency and economy in administration which enabled the borough to successfully clear the many difficult hurdles that were later to be encountered, especially during the depression years.

Frank B. Titus, appointed borough manager when the ordinance was passed twenty years ago, is still on the job, and doing the same high-type work which characterized his early years in this new venture into sound governmental management.

Before 1922 Lansdowne's public affairs were managed by councilmanic committees, the heads of which had their own private businesses and could devote only a small portion of their time to borough work. This resulted in a certain amount of inefficiency and duplication and a corresponding wastage of the taxpayers' money.

Under the manager the various departments were concentrated under one head and a system installed that enabled the municipality to carry out a program of advanced ideas in government without added expense to the taxpayer.

### Surplus of Tax Funds

Better still, because of this modern way of conducting a large public corporation, a surplus of tax moneys gradually accumulated which was returned to property owners in tax reductions—three such reductions have been made during the past fifteen years.

It was during the prolonged depression that the manager plan proved its greatest worth. While other less fortunate communities were hard put to make ends meet, many of them borrowing until the burden became unbearable, Lansdowne continued paying all its obligations promptly, and not once was it necessary to ask for outside financial assistance. In fact, two of the tax reductions were made during this period.

Moneys saved through efficient

EDITOR'S NOTE.—These articles continue the series on the council-manager plan begun in our July issue. All three cities, Lansdowne, Salem, and Chapel Hill, have completed twenty years of council-manager government.

management enabled the borough to compile such a splendid "depression" record. A pay-as-you-go policy was adopted, and surplus funds were used to finance public expenditures each year until tax moneys started to come in beginning with August. This policy proved so sound it is still being used, and with the close of 1941 Lansdowne had a balance of nearly $40,000 to tide it over the lean months of the present year.

Another indication of the excellence of Lansdowne's municipal financing plan could be seen during the depression years in the demand for its bonds, which incidentally were floated before the manager plan came into existence. It was impossible to buy them prior to the time of expiration, as the borough found when it tried to retire a series before the date of maturity.

Throughout the depression public services were maintained at the highest level, while those in other towns were suffering a deterioration as an effort was made to cope with the financial stringency.

### Leads the County

Under the plan Lansdowne has taken the leadership in Delaware County so far as progressive government is concerned. It has the finest system of improved streets in the county and ranks with any community of its size in the state in the matter of street lighting. Its police department was the first in the county to install two-way radio communication, and in every other phase of municipal life it has taken a foremost place among those towns with a similar population—ten thousand.

Lansdowne, too, through Borough Manager Titus, has helped to spread the gospel of efficient government in this and adjoining states, and many communities have adopted the plan because of what they have discovered in a study of the Lansdowne setup. Mr. Titus on numerous occasions has been invited to address local governmental bodies, and although a busy man, has always found time to preach the good cause.

This form of government has removed the borough work forces from political influence, encouraged efficiency and economy and rewarded those who are responsible for a job well done.

### Park Program

The latest project committed to the manager is the operation of Lansdowne's public parks and playgrounds under a Recreation Commission. During the past year the borough, through Council, has acquired tracts of land for three public parks, one exclusively for the small colored population in its midst. The manager has seen to the erection of a community house in the latter tract, which is used as a meeting place for a civic organization, boys' club, defense groups, and as a night school for adults. He is also beautifying the other two tracts for outdoor activities during the summer.

Long an advocate of an adequate public park system, Mr. Titus is now putting into concrete shape those ideas he had some time ago drafted for future reference, and when another year rolls around, Lansdowne will have in these modern play areas

one more landmark symbolizing the outstanding success of its manager form of government.

After twenty years of the manager plan Lansdowne would have no other for it has proved its worth and shown itself far superior to the old method in every test placed upon it.

# Salem Taxes and Debt Decrease under Manager

By JOHN H. THORNTON, Publisher
*Salem, Virginia, Times-Register*

THE "proof of the pudding is in the eating." This applies to municipal government just as it does to everything else, and on this twentieth anniversary of the adoption of council-manager government in Salem, Virginia, the results obtained are ample proof of the wisdom of discarding the old and taking on the new form of government.

Under the council-manager system the charter provides for a Council of three members elected at large. These three councilmen select one of their number as mayor at the organization meeting following each councilmanic election.

For administering the affairs of the town a manager is appointed by Council, to which he is directly responsible. During the past twenty years there have been five town managers, each having served approximately four years, all of whom have been selected on the basis of their training and executive ability with politics playing no part in their appointment.

Members of Council have practically without exception confined their activities to legislative and policy-making, leaving administrative authority with the manager.

Not once has there been any serious question of returning to the old form of government.

Operating its own electric light distribution system, water works and sewerage system, the annual budget has increased from $94,000 in 1922 to $212,000 in 1942. The bonded debt was $163,600 in 1922 and $225,000 of general improvement serial bonds were issued in 1924. All of the old bonds have been retired. The 1924 series have been retired annually as they have become due, and will be completely paid off in 1954. The present bonded debt of the town is $110,000, being only $19.15 per capita. Salem does not operate any public schools; these are part of the Roanoke County system.

The tax levy for the town has been reduced from $1.20 per $100 assessed valuation in 1922 to $.75 in 1942, and the total levy for town county, and state purposes has been decreased from $2.65 in 1922 to $2.05 in 1942.

In spite of the reduction in tax rates, the town has, under the guidance of a Council of leading public-spirited citizens and with well qualified town managers, accomplished many improvements in its services to its citizens. It has carried on an extensive construction program as

indicated by the following accomplishments:

1. A new municipal building and fire house constructed in 1925. Additional modern motorized fire fighting equipment has been purchased and together with other improvements has given the town one of the most modern fire departments in the state as well as a material reduction in fire insurance rates.

2. The personnel of the police department has been increased from three in 1922 to six in 1942, and a radio equipped patrol car has been added.

3. The street lighting system has been modernized including a white way, and the entire electric light distribution system has been improved and rebuilt.

4. Many miles of streets have been graded and paved; curbs, gutters and sidewalks have been extended.

5. The sanitary sewerage system has been extended until at the present time about 97 per cent of town buildings are connected with sewers and about 99 per cent have sewers available.

6. A new 1,000,000 gallon per day water filtration plant was built in 1930 at a cost of approximately $85,000. Storage on the distribution system has been increased from 225,000 gallons in 1922 to 950,000 gallons in 1942, and many miles of cast iron mains have been added.

7. Other accomplishments include a municipal stadium and athletic field, a community center, numerous parks, central repair shop and garages, planning commission, zoning ordinance, codification and printing of ordinances, centralized purchasing with the town manager as purchasing agent, modernized accounting and record system, free bi-weekly garbage collection service using a modern enclosed body truck, and other items too numerous to mention.

Confidence of the people in their government, together with the wholehearted coöperation of citizens, has been one of the most important factors in making the council-manager form of government such an outstanding success in Salem.

# Chapel Hill Manager Cooperates with University on City Problems

By ELWYN A. MAUCK, Chief,
*Program Docket and Directives Section, Office of Civilian Defense*

CHAPEL HILL, North Carolina, now experiencing its twentieth year under the city manager plan, owes its creation and existence to the University of North Carolina, which lays legitimate claim to being the country's oldest state university.

The first state legislature of North Carolina, in fulfilling a mandate embodied in the state constitution of 1776, directed that the university's site should be adequately removed from political influence of the state capital or any county seat. The spe-

cial commission delegated to choose the site finally selected a beautiful hilltop thirty miles from the capital and over ten miles from the nearest county seat. The site already contained a little country church known as New Hope Chapel. Slowly a small community developed and grew around the university to serve its needs. Today, Chapel Hill still retains the physical appearance of a charming residential village with a university sprawled in its very heart. Chapel Hillians intend to keep it that way.

The influence of the university continues to be the all-important factor in the conduct of the town's affairs. With a transient student body of more than four thousand greatly outnumbering the remainder of the population, the problems of government are not those usually encountered in a small village. The status of the university as a corporation owned by the state gives rise to unusual patterns in the local government's functional arrangements.

### University Tax-Exempt

Since the university is state-owned, it is tax-exempt. This means that from one-third to one-half of the value of the real estate within the corporate limits has never borne any part of the tax load. The result is that the town can install public improvements and purchase equipment only after negotiation with university officials through which the university assumes a designated portion of the costs. For continuing services, the university makes flat payments in lieu of taxes.

Since the university is given certain police powers, the policing function is shared by the university and the town. The university's police power governs the health, welfare, and morals of students within a five-mile radius of the university. In addition to the usual administrative staff on student welfare the university employs several policemen who become an integral part of the town force. Student welfare considerations also developed unusual arrangements in the field of public utilities. Thus telephone, electrical power, water supply, and even the laundry are monopolies owned by the university. However, their services are open to all residents of the community.

The proposal and adoption of the manager plan twenty years ago also had its impetus within the university. The dean of the School of Engineering, who was serving as a member of the city council, became interested in the manager plan and eventually urged its adoption. The plan was adopted by town ordinance, and the director of the field service of the School of Engineering became Chapel Hill's first "business manager" on a part-time basis. Later the position of town manager was incorporated in the Chapel Hill charter, and the salary of the office increased gradually from $1,290 until it reached a peak of $4,200.

### Steady Progress

Chapel Hill has progressed steadily under the administrations of three managers. The principles of the plan suffered a reverse on one occasion when the second manager removed an official favored by the

(Continued on Page 528)

# On the Local Front

***Day-care centers for children of working mothers; one-week nutrition campaign gets effective results.***

**Prepared by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services**
**Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt, Director**

**ZILPHA C. FRANKLIN, Editor**

IN COMMUNITIES all over the country war activities have intensified the need for protection of children. Concentration of population has resulted in overcrowding, inadequate housing, lack of necessary facilities for education and recreation, and hazards to the health of children. Today, this need is being intensified by the employment of women.

The expansion of the war production program, as well as the increasing requirements of our armed forces, necessitates the maximum utilization of our labor resources. In communities where housing and transportation facilities will not take care of any new population, the local labor supply must be used to keep industries going. In such communities it is inevitable that workers will include a much larger number of married women with children than in communities where war industries have a less limited labor supply from which to draw workers.

As plans develop for the participation of women in war industry, it must be recognized that the care of young children is the first responsibility of mothers. When mothers are employed or planning to enter employment it becomes a community responsibility to see that parents have assistance in planning for their needs and that the children have the best possible care—including health supervision, opportunity for nursery education and play for the youngest, and recreation outside of school hours for those who attend school.

The British found that, as they employed large numbers of women, some provision had to be made for the care of their children while they were at work. As of March 1942 there were 1,500 day-care centers in Great Britain and an additional 700 were being planned to care for the children of working mothers. The employment of women in this country is just beginning to assume large proportions. The number will probably exceed the number employed in Great Britain.

Communities throughout the country which are centers for war activities are faced with immediate need for the provision of day care for the children of working mothers.

Though this will be a new step in many communities it must not be undertaken haphazardly. Day care is a serious venture in child welfare services and should not be undertaken by sporadic groups who are not experienced in the field, but only as a part of a coördinated community plan. On the basis of past experiences and study, schools and welfare agencies are able to recommend safeguards and standards to be considered by each community before undertaking a day-care program. But any implication that the establishment of day-care centers is a means of recruiting mothers for industry should be carefully avoided.

A plan for a community day-care program should have as its foundation a careful study of the industrial needs of the community. As a wartime measure women with young children should be enabled to do work for which they are needed without sacrificing the

health and welfare of their children. Two interests must be given consideration in planning day-care facilities: production necessary for the national war effort and the needs of individual families and children.

### Plan of Action

It is not a question of priority of one or the other of these interests. The needs of the essential industries must be served; children must not be needlessly deprived of home care, and they must be safeguarded if the mother is away from home. These objectives can be attained only if community action is based upon thorough knowledge of the various factors involved in employment of mothers of young children.

The next step is to find out how many of these women who are joining the labor force will be unable to provide satisfactorily for their children's care from their own resources. One of the best methods for estimating this is to set up in the community a counselling service for working mothers or those who are contemplating employment. Situations coming to the attention of the counselling service will provide the most concrete information in regard to the need for day care and the types of care required in the community.

In almost all cities there are already some facilities for day care. These existing resources should be utilized to the fullest extent. The administrative experience of day nurseries and other facilities should be a valuable asset in planning adequate provision for day care.

The day-care program of a community should make provision not only for day-care center or day-nursery type of care for pre-school and school-age children, but also for care before and after school. It is therefore essential that study concerning the needs and available resources should include neighborhood houses and settlements, recreation centers, and activities conducted by churches and other organizations which may be utilized in providing for children of school age. Coordination of all these facilities is essential for the sake of economy of money and effort.

The primary objective of the program should be to make the necessary services available to all children who require care because of the mother's employment away from home and to provide the type of care suited to each family group.

### Federal Groups Interested

A number of federal agencies are interested in the provision of day care services for working mothers. Among these are:

The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, concerned with the development of various types of day care; the Office of Education, which is interested in the development of full day nursery school programs and before and after school programs; the Work Projects Administration, which has developed day-care programs through its nursery school and various other activities; the National Housing Agency, which is planning the development of day-care activities in its housing projects; the Farm Security Administration which has set up in the past day-care activities in its mobile camps. As the number of these camps increases, more day-care facilities will be needed.

Other federal agencies interested in providing these services are: The U. S. Employment Service, which is the central agency from which information must be obtained regarding the employment of women. Its interest in day care stems from its responsibility to supply labor requirements. The Recreation Section of the Office of Defense

Health and Welfare Services is interested in the development of recreational programs for the older child during those hours when he is not in school.

A recent directive of the War Manpower Commission called on the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services to coördinate, integrate, and develop programs for the day care of children of working mothers. This directive is designed to facilitate the employment of women so that the man power of the nation may be effectively mobilized for the prosecution of the war, at the same time providing safeguards for the maintenance of family life.

**Local Committees**

In the local community numerous local committees have already been formed. Where there is need for planning a day-care program, the community should organize a local day-care committee. This committee should be officially related to the Civilian Defense Council as a committee of the Council or as a subcommittee of an over-all committee dealing with children or with health, education, or welfare problems. The committee, or subcommittee, should include representatives of the local departments of education, health and welfare, WPA, and employment service.

In many cases it will be desirable to have appropriate representation or consultation from private agencies, employers, unions, citizens' groups, and other interested organizations. Local organization for these and other purposes should be developed in accordance with the policies set forth by the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services in its publication, *Health, Welfare and Related Aspects of Community War Services,* issued in June 1942, and *Organization Outline for Local Defense Councils,* a publication of the Office of Civilian Defense.

## *Community Nutrition Campaign Improves Eating Habits*

Typical city families made an improvement of about 10 per cent in their knowledge, attitude toward, and actual use of healthful foods as a result of a one-week community nutrition campaign, according to a study conducted in South Bend, Indiana, recently.

The study, made by Crossley Incorporated at the request of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, represents an effort to gauge the effectiveness of current nutrition activities, as a guide to nationwide community efforts being carried on as part of the national nutrition program. South Bend offered a practical demonstration of such activities because it had a well organized nutrition setup and was planning an intensive "Nutrition Week."

The Crossley study was made in two parts—a cross-section survey before the start of the campaign;[1] a similar check-up several weeks after. It was thus possible to determine what the effect of the campaign had been.

Before the campaign started it was agreed that its success could be measured in terms of: (1) better knowledge of food values, (2) greater interest in healthful foods, and (3) greater use of healthful foods.

Archibald Crossley, president of Crossley Incorporated, brought out the following points in connection with the survey:

"With due regard for all variables, the campaign appears to have had a definite effect, measurable within certain limits. In all characteristics this effect appears to have been an improvement of around 10 per cent in knowledge, attitude toward, and actual use of healthful foods. Correct answers to questions on basic food knowledge were 16 per cent nearer right in Part

[1]See "On the Local Front," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1942.

Two than in Part One. Familiarity with enriched bread showed a 20 per cent improvement. Selection of the food groups as needed for health value advanced nearly 9 per cent. If each of these four indicators is given equal weight, the improvement would be 12 per cent. The greatest improvement was found in the lower income levels and in the older age groups, those previously shown as needing them most."

The survey was based on the government "food rules" set up to implement the recommendations of the national nutrition program. These rules, under the slogan "U. S. Needs Us Strong," list the eight basic food groups which, nutrition experts say, should be included in each day's meals.

In developing its Nutrition Week, the South Bend Nutrition Committee, and the St. Joseph County Defense Council of which it is a part, had the coöperation of local business, civic groups, schools, and other local government agencies and private organizations. National business concerns, already coöperating in the national nutrition program, gave similar assistance in South Bend through advertising, posters, displays, and so on. The Nutrition Division of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services, in addition to arranging for the nutrition survey, gave its advice and guidance.

### Nutrition Week Program

Highlights of Nutrition Week included an opening proclamation by the Mayor published as a full-page spread in the local newspaper and extensive newspaper coverage both in editorial space and "institutional" advertising throughout the campaign; some twenty-five window displays on nutrition flanking the main shopping street; information and registration booths, manned by the Nutrition Committee, in both downtown and neighborhood stores; meetings all over the county, and numerous radio programs; special school activities; and showings of nutrition motion pictures in local theaters.

These findings are particularly significant because of the caution and conservatism with which they were developed.

The questions which were asked in South Bend were worked up independently by the staff of Crossley Incorporated and checked with the Nutrition Division of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services for scientific accuracy and completeness. From that point on Crossley Incorporated worked without contact with government officials or local leaders engaged in the campaign. At no time before, during, or after the work on it have those taking the poll had any contact with the business concerns which contributed to financing the survey, or with others.

The cross-sections used for the two surveys were comparable within a negligible margin of error. Changing conditions—seasonal variations in food supply and in food choice, changing prices, and so on—are, of course, reflected in the findings. But because the surveys were concerned primarily with knowledge and attitudes, and their effect on the use of these food groups, these variables do not distort the general picture.

There is, of course, a possibility that there may be some recession as the stimulus of the campaign wears off; but it is equally possible that the habits built up and the benefits experienced will maintain improvement on a long-term and widespread basis.

# Researcher's Digest: October

***Tax worm turns in New Jersey; how to pick jurors and teachers; books on preventing sabotage; what researchers think about.***

PROPERTY taxes going down! This is the unusually jubilant note sounded by a report of the **Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce** titled, quite simply, *Property Taxes Continue Downward Trend in New Jersey.* The crux of the matter is stated right on the cover of the report: "In 1942, for the third consecutive year, a majority of New Jersey's 566 municipalities have reduced their all-purpose property tax rates and tax levies. Aggregate statewide property levy is the lowest since 1937."

For this welcome development the bureau puts the responsibility on decreasing appropriations for debt service, more careful administration of operating expenditures, constantly improving tax collections, pay-as-you-go financing, and the return to local tax rolls of much taxable property previously in default. At the back of these developments, the report points out, lies salutary legislation. Some of these laws curbed unwise spending, short-term borrowing, and fictitious budgeting; instituted the cash basis; and regulated relief financing, tax collections, and tax delinquent property. A concluding observation is that replacement taxes are not the only way, nor indeed the desirable way, to pull property taxes downward.

### *Choosing Jurors*

A newspaper scandal over what the press termed an unjust acquittal of a union official accused of embezzlement was the factor which tossed into the lap of the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis** the job of examining the jury system in that city. A study titled *The Selection of Jurors in the Circuit Court, City of St. Louis* was the result of a letter from the local Board of Jury Supervisors asking for the bureau's help. Reorganization is what the research group emphatically recommends. Compilation of a jury list by the present method of personal canvass is condemned. After studying both the St. Louis method and the methods in vogue in other large cities, the surveyors found for the system whereby the lists of registered voters are used, with mail notification of those chosen for all except the Grand Jury.

### *Choosing Teachers*

Teachers should be chosen by methods as modern and efficient as those used by successful business, holds the **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research.** As reported in a recent issue of *City Problems,* the present recruitment lists, gleaned from graduation records of normal schools, have been examined and found wanting. Establishment of a school personnel division is urged, with a citizens' advisory committee to aid. A definite program for transfers and promotions, revised and extended personnel records, added emphasis on in-service training, and more effective use of personnel through resizing of classes are other planks in the bureau's platform for doing a better job of instructing the children and future voters of New Orleans.

### *Sabotage: A Master File*

Bibliography, the indispensable tool of governmental research, is a specialty of the **University of California's Bureau of Public Administration,** which has achieved fame with many of its past bibliographies. Newest and timeliest

of the series is *Sabotage and Its Prevention,* compiled by Dorothy Campbell Tompkins. There are some twenty-four mimeographed pages of titles, conveniently subdivided into the various types of prevention problems.

### *On Their Minds*

What does a researcher think about these days?

Comparative data on police administration: see *Police Administration in Virginia,* by George A. Warp, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia.**

The unsoundness of New Jersey's police and firemen's pension funds; there's a report under exactly that title by the **Department of Governmental Research of the New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce.**

New research topics: the **Committee on Public Administration** of the Social Science Research Council, to keep the researchers busy, has issued *Research in Judicial Administration,* an outline of suggested research topics prepared by authorities in that field.

Why citizens should vote: the **Commission of Governmental Efficiency and Economy of Baltimore** inquires hotly, *"Who Runs Baltimore?",* and replies that the citizens do not, for so few bother to register or to vote.

Who should get the proceeds of automobile taxes, the state, the city, or the county? And how much to whom? The question is raised by the **Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee** in a recent bulletin.

## Research Bureau Reports Received

#### *Courts*

**The Selection of Jurors in the Circuit Court, City of St. Louis.** A Report to the Board of Jury Supervisors. St. Louis Governmental Research Institute, June 1942. 24 pp.

**Research in Judicial Administration.** An Outline of Suggested Research Topics. Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D. C., 1942. 89 pp.

#### *Pensions*

**The Unsoundness of New Jersey's Police and Firemen's Pension Funds.** Department of Governmental Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Newark, August 1942. 14 pp.

#### *Personnel*

**Public Employee Bonus Plans.** Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee, August 29, 1942. 6 pp.

#### *Police*

**Police Administration in Virginia.** By George A. Warp. Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1942. 65 pp.

#### *Sabotage*

**Sabotage and Its Prevention.** A Bibliography. By Dorothy Campbell Tomkins. Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, August 1942. 24 pp. mimeo.

#### *Taxation*

**Distribution of Automobile Taxes.** Citizens' Bureau of Milwaukee, August 1, 1942. 3 pp.

**Property Taxes Continue Downward Trend in New Jersey.** Department of Governmental Research, New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce, Newark, July 1942. 6 pp.

# Contributors in Review

A SOUTHERNER is responsible for *The Poll Tax Stirs Revolt.* **Virginius Dabney** was born in Virginia, educated in Virginia, once taught French in a Virginia school, and rose from reporter on a Richmond paper to editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* and winner of an award for "distinguished editorial writing during the year 1937." This article is a chapter from his new book, *Below the Potomac—A Book About the New South.*

SINCE his graduation from college in 1928 **Ben Kaplan** (*Houston Wins Manager Campaign*) has devoted himself to newspaper work, eventually joining the Scripps-Howard Newspaper Alliance. He was with the now-suspended *Oklahoma News* for four years, and courthouse reporter, City Hall, and general assignment man for the *Houston Press* since 1939. He considers his coverage of the early days of sitdown strikes and an expose in a multi-million-dollar school board scandal in Oklahoma City among his best works.

ENGAGED in one of the most stupendous management problems of all time, **Harold D. Smith,** federal budget director, knows what he is talking about in *Management in a Democracy.* Mr. Smith had a long background of responsibility in municipal research and municipal league work (chiefly the Michigan Municipal League of which he was secretary) before he assumed the budget directorship of the state of Michigan in 1937. He was appointed to the federal position by the President in 1939.

TWO of the three authors of stories on cities which this year celebrate the twentieth anniversary of their adoption of the council-manager plan are members of the fourth estate. **Frank Stewart,** who writes on Lansdowne, Pennsylvania, has been editor of the *Delaware County Times,* a weekly newspaper with a wide circulation over the county, for a number of years; **John H. Thornton** is both editor and publisher of the weekly *Salem, Virginia, Times-Register.* **Elwyn A. Mauck,** author of the story on Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is on leave from the faculty of the University of North Carolina, as chief of the Program Docket and Directives Section of the Office of Civilian Defense.

---

EDITORIALS

(Continued from Page 475)

ashamed of in American politics, among them the fact that, as the New Jersey newspaper admits, no more than 20 per cent of a community's people are likely to take much interest in a party primary. There would be fewer bad results and consequently less reason for shame if 80 instead of 20 per cent of the voters participated in all elections.

The principal thing wrong with our self-governing system is the fact that we so seldom have whole-hearted participation by an electorate which demonstrates sufficient interest to inform itself adequately about issues and candidates.

It doesn't help to have a newspaper abrogate its responsibility for leadership by hinting that a vigorous election campaign is damaging to the successful conduct of the war.

# News in Review

**City, State, and Nation**
*Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

## Intergovernmental Cooperation Makes Progress

### *Many state and city projects jointly undertaken*

IN PREPARATION for legislative sessions of the coming winter, and in pursuance of numerous other objectives, the various state commissions on intergovernmental coöperation have been active during the summer, according to the Council of State Governments.

Michigan has been added to the list of states with such commissions, the Michigan Commission on Intergovernmental Coöperation having been organized at Lansing on July 9, 1942. It has been making plans for the 1943 legislative session.

The Indiana commission, in addition to planning for the session of the legislature, has a committee working with the Indiana members of the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws. This group will develop various legislative proposals, many of which will be directed toward a more efficient war effort. The commission has also been making a study of the legislative council idea, in collaboration with the Indiana Academy of Social Sciences and other agencies. It is hoped that the next legislature will establish such a council.

The staff of the Massachusetts commission is conducting two special studies at the behest of the legislature, one dealing with problems of interstate motor truck traffic and the other with equalization of the responsibility of motor vehicle operators of Massachusetts and other states who become involved in accidents outside their own states. Other committees at work are those on taxation, conservation, crime prevention, and social welfare and relief.

The Connecticut commission has been concerned with the formulation of a tentative legislative program, including measures dealing with wartime problems, uniform state laws, and the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact, which will be presented to the legislature for adoption next January.

The Pennsylvania Commission on Interstate Coöperation has had a legislative program under consideration, including fisheries and motor truck matters. The commission has also been actively supporting the Delaware River Sanitation Act.

The New York Joint Legislative Committee on Interstate Coöperation is studying a legislative program including additional war legislation, a Delaware River water diversion act, repeal of existing settlement laws, motor vehicle statutes, interstate trade questions, liquor control, workmen's compensation matters, taxation of decedents' estates, and forestry and fisheries problems. All twenty-seven measures sponsored by the Committee in the 1942 legislative session were enacted and signed.

The Florida commission is expected to sponsor a bill placing that state under the Atlantic States Marine Fisheries Compact, recently ratified by Virginia and South Carolina, the latter being the tenth state to do so.

The Council of State Governments opened a regional office in San Francisco in September, to facilitate the work of the council and the various commissions on interstate coöperation in California and other western states. It will serve as a clearing house for information and assistance on prob-

lems of mutual interest to the states throughout the west, and as a service agency for public officials.

### *Inter-Community Cooperation in Sewage Disposal*

A recent survey by the International City Managers' Association shows that eighteen of the thirty largest cities in the United States, including several in war production areas, coöperate with other municipalities in treatment or disposal of sewage. Four others in the group of thirty cities are included in sewerage districts that are separate agencies, serving the suburbs as well as the large cities.

The largest number of communities was reported by Los Angeles, the facilities of which are shared with twelve cities and nine sanitary districts.

### *Arizona Cities Cooperate on Housing*

The Housing Authority of Phoenix, Arizona, has joined in an agreement with authorities of the five nearby cities of Buckeye, Glendale, Flagstaff, Holbrook, and Mesa, in working out a regional housing program. A single executive director and one central office staff are handling all administrative matters in connection with the construction of twenty-eight to fifty-six homes in each of the towns, according to the National Association of Housing Officials.

### *Police Mutual Aid Plan in California County*

In San Mateo County, the suburban peninsular area south of San Francisco including twelve cities, a plan of mutual aid with respect to police facilities has been worked out as a war emergency measure.

Each party to the agreement is required to maintain in reserve at all times at least one "police unit," consisting of one regular police officer, five auxiliary policemen, and one automobile. These reserve police units are placed at the disposal of and subject to the emergency call of the Law and Order Coördinator of the County Civilian Defense Office (at present the county sheriff). Calls for aid can be made by the parties to the coördinator when a police emergency within their jurisdiction exceeds or threatens to exceed their ability to handle it alone.

The coördinator has power to dispatch these reserve police units in response to such calls in such numbers, at such times, and to such localities as he shall deem necessary, giving preference to local emergencies directly or immediately involving vital war industries or installations. However, a community may refuse to send out its reserve unit if, in the opinion of its chief of police, there is a direct and immediate danger to vital war industries or installations within its own jurisdiction, or to its own community or its citizenry. The agreement further provides that if any party shall become immediately endangered after having sent aid it shall be entitled to recall its police units and call for additional aid under the terms of the agreement.

### *Cooperative Purchasing in New York State*

Under Chapter 868 of the New York State Laws of 1942 the State Commissioner of Standards and Purchase may permit, upon request, any county, town, city, or incorporated village to purchase materials, equipment, and supplies, except printing, through the State Division of Standards and Purchase, subject to conditions prescribed by the commissioner. All purchases must be over $500. The municipality must accept sole responsibility for payment. Any purchase is subject to audit and inspection by the munici-

pality. The law became effective July 1.

The New York State Conference of Mayors is coöperating with the Division of Standards and Purchase in putting into effect plans whereby the cities and villages of the state may purchase equipment and supplies under state contracts, and in keeping the purchasing officials of the municipalities informed about advantageous purchasing opportunities under the new law. It is issuing a purchasing bulletin to keep purchasing officials informed as to what equipment and supplies can be purchased under state contracts, from whom, and at what price, and also as to the equipment and supplies for which the state will call for bids in the future, so that a municipality desiring to join with the state may have its needs added to the total.

It is expected that both the state and the municipalities will benefit from the plan. The municipalities, more particularly, will gain the advantages of lower prices resulting from quantity purchasing, of scientific specifications, and of the rigid testing required by the state. Greater priority may also be obtained for the benefit of the state and the municipalities.

## *Constitutional Amendments Proposed in Missouri*

In addition to voting on authorizing a constitutional convention, the voters of Missouri will pass upon four proposed amendments at the general election in November.

One proposition, regularly submitted by the General Assembly in recent years, would increase the pay of legislators to $125 per month. Being without organized support, it will undoubtedly be defeated as usual.

A second proposal would repeal the nonpartisan system of selecting judges which was adopted in 1940. Its enemies in the General Assembly argued that the voters would not have adopted the plan if they had understood it. The Missouri Bar Association and other civic groups are waging a vigorous educational campaign against repeal.

A third—and the most dangerous—proposition, sposored by the Missouri Pension Society, would earmark $29,000,000 annually for old-age assistance and aid to dependent children. Although designed to increase present allotments, its adoption might actually reduce them, for federal aid might be cut off because some provisions of the amendment are inconsistent with those of the national act. Its adoption would greatly reduce the general revenue fund and thereby cripple many state agencies and activities, unless the legislature immediately increased the sales tax from two to, say, three per cent or found some other source of revenue. In any case, state aid for local school purposes would be seriously reduced, and school programs in many districts would have to be drastically curtailed because they already levy the maximum rates permitted by the state constitution.

This amendment is actively opposed by the Missouri State Teachers Association, Missouri Farmers Association, and numerous other educational and farm groups, also by the metropolitan press and by many rural newspapers. Nevertheless, the vote received by friendly legislative candidates in the August primary, as well as the existence of some 115,000 on the old-age assistance rolls, indicates that it is a serious threat.

A fourth amendment would remove a technicality and thereby insure the validity of tax levies voted for schools in St. Louis County school districts. The amendment, of course, has to be voted on by the state at large.

William L. Bradshaw
University of Missouri

### *Council-Manager Plan News*

Citizens of **Lowell, Massachusetts,** will vote on the adoption of Plan E—council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council—at the general state election on November 3. Petitions filed July 31 have been accepted by both the City Election Commission and the State Ballot Law Commission, despite attack by opposition groups.[1]

Sponsors of a Plan E charter for **Springfield, Massachusetts,** have abandoned their efforts for a referendum on that issue at this year's election. Two years ago the required number of signers on a petition was secured, but a vote was deferred for a more propitious time. This year a small number of additional signatures would be needed. The consensus of opinion among advocates of the plan was that a referendum this year would be inappropriate because of the war and the difficulty of arousing public sentiment on the charter issue.

In **Illinois** H. Barry McCormick, chairman of the Chicago City Manager League, representing other organizations as well, has called upon the state Republican organization to commit itself to permissive legislation that would enable Chicago and other cities in that state to adopt the manager plan. Such a bill has been defeated three times by the legislature. Mr. McCormick said: "We were disappointed at the lack of energetic support from the present state administration at the last session of the legislature in view of the campaign pledges previously made and not fulfilled."

At a public hearing held in **Scranton, Pennsylvania,** by the Local Government Commission of the state legislature in August, L. H. Simons, representing the Home Owners and Taxpayers' League, advocated laws empowering all municipalities to adopt the manager plan, and also suggested a constitutional amendment to permit reorganization of outmoded local government.

It was implied in our September issue (p. 452) that **Columbus, Georgia,** is seeking the manager plan. Columbus has had manager government since 1922. The present proposal, advocated by the League of Women Voters, is to extend it to include the fire and police departments. The city commission now appoints the fire and police chiefs.

### *Increasing Recreation Programs of Cities*

Municipal recreation activities, according to figures submitted by 1,164 cities to the National Recreation Association, cost a total of $30,000,000 in 1941, or nearly a million more than in 1940. Although this was much less than the peak outlay of predepression days, expenditures for 1942 may exceed those of last year, since tire and gas rationing are providing new reasons for local recreation programs. The current increase is due largely to recreation needs for war industry workers and service men, and conditioning programs for civilian defense workers.

Special services for men in uniform were offered by 207 cities last year, while 190 cities provided special services for war industry workers. In addition, three hundred or more recreation agencies said they had served large numbers of service men through their regular facilities.

About four-fifths of the public recreation programs were administered in 1941 by recreation, park, or school authorities; the remainder by city managers, public works, welfare departments, or other authorities. More full-time employees worked in recreation

[1]For further information on the Lowell situation see page 511.

throughout the year than ever before, and volunteers were more numerous than in previous years. Fees and other charges supplied 12 per cent of necessary funds, private contributors 4 per cent, and taxes and other public funds 84 per cent.

### *New Orleans Seeks Personnel Director from Entire Nation*

The recently enacted New Orleans civil service law, effective January 1, 1943, provides for a comprehensive modern public personnel program and the selection of three candidates for director of personnel by an examining committee appointed by the Civil Service Commission. The examination, held in September and October, is open to citizens of any of the states. Appointment of the director by the commission from the three highest ranking candidates is expected in November.

### *Civil Service Personnel Losses*

Two recent widespread investigations have gone into the problem of wartime personnel shortages, particularly of "key" employees, and efforts that are being made to overcome loss of man power.

A survey by the United States Civil Service Commission, made at the request of the War Manpower Commission, indicates that state and local governments are losing more "key" personnel to the armed forces than to war industries or the federal civil service.

Twenty-two jurisdictions—six states, five counties, and eleven cities—supplied information for the survey, which covered personnel losses of state and local governments during the first six months of this year. A loss of 2,567 key employees from positions in which 51,153 persons normally are employed was shown. Of these essential workers, 1,626, or nearly two-thirds, left for military service, 372 were lost to war industries, 125 shifted to federal employment, and 444 to other jobs. More than half the employees entering military service went in of their own accord as enlistees or reserve officers.

The survey indicated that the loss of key employees from state and local government to the federal civil service had not been sufficiently serious thus far to require formal preventive measures.

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada has conducted a questionnaire survey of efforts to overcome wartime personnel shortages. One hundred and fifteen public personnel agencies gave replies which indicated that wartime pressure is inducing civil service agencies to hire more women, transfer employees from curtailed departments to other jobs, waive residence requirements, and lower training and experience qualifications.

Most of the agencies had not yet recalled retired employees back into service, but the increasing shortage of available people for government employment, especially at the local level, may result in this move as well as the retaining of employees who have reached the retirement age.

About one-third of the agencies replying in the survey are opening more jobs to women, e.g., tax collectors, lawyers, life guards, testing station operators, and street car conductors.

Two-thirds of the agencies are transferring to other jobs employees of departments with activities curtailed by the war. Fifty-three agencies reported opening some positions to nonresidents, while forty-three said they were not. Most of the vacancies for which nonresidents are eligible are in engineering, medical, public health nursing, and personnel technician positions.

Training and experience requirements, as well as physical standards, have been relaxed by half of the public personnel agencies reporting. The general trend is toward substitution of experience for formal education and training. Some twenty agencies are making special efforts to use physically-handicapped persons in non-hazardous employment, usually as accountants, clerks, elevator operators, and stenographers.

Forty-five agencies have raised maximum or lowered minimum age limits for some positions, in order to open them to more applicants. At least eleven of the agencies are hiring employees from lists of eligibles set up by other jurisdictions.

---

### *American Bar Association and Civil Service*

The House of Delegates of the American Bar Association, at its August meeting, adopted a resolution sponsored by Hon. Murray Seasongood calling for the appointment of a special committee on civil service.

The following resolutions were adopted by the Association's Municipal Law Section and transmitted to the House of Delegates for action at their next meetings:

1. The objective of a closed shop for municipal employees is not a permissible one, since it is inconsistent with the principles of the merit system.
2. Under no circumstances do municipal employees have the right to strike.

---

### *Courts Aid Fight Against Unsightliness*

On August 17, 1942, an important decision relating to the power of the state to control and regulate the use of private property under the police power was handed down in the Court of Quarter Sessions of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, in the case of *Commonwealth v. Trimmer.*

In the trial below before an alderman, who in Pennsylvania has a judicial function similar to that of justice of the peace in other jurisdictions, Earl R. Trimmer had been convicted of maintaining two signs projecting into the street in violation of an ordinance of the city of Harrisburg. Trimmer appealed to the Court of Quarter Sessions, which unanimously affirmed the conviction.

In dismissing the appeal Presiding Judge William M. Hargest took occasion to review the evolution of the law upon the subject of aesthetics and the police power.[1] Beginning with a 1905 New Jersey case which probably no longer represents the law in any other jurisdiction, if in that, Judge Hargest traces the gradual development of the power to regulate private property from the point of view of appearance. Step by step he shows the growth in the judicial concept of the right of the community to control offenses to the eye, and concludes: "We definitely hold also, in the light of the foregoing later decisions, *that aesthetic considerations alone, in this day, are sufficient upon which to base an exercise of the police power.*"

Other cases, many of them cited by Judge Hargest, have from time to time criticized earlier cases as too narrow in their view, and have refused to follow them; but no previous opinion has so compendiously traced the gradual shift of the judicial view, until now at last the considered judgment of the four members of this court is that the eye is equally entitled to protection against private abuses as the nose and ear.

---

[1]Copies of Judge Hargest's opinion may be obtained from the National Roadside Council, 119 East 19th Street, New York City.

The opinion is of interest not only to planners and zoning authorities, but to the public as well.

In another recent action of a Pennsylvania court an anti-billboard group was protected against the tactics of the billboard industry.

The Pennsylvania Roadside Council (Mrs. Cyril G. Fox, of Media, Pennsylvania, president) was incorporated in 1940. It is a genuine civic organization working for roadside amenity and highway safety, and has been waging a successful fight in its home state against the billboard nuisance. In March 1942 the billboard industry applied to the Court of Common Pleas in Dauphin County for a charter under the name "Pennsylvania Roadside Improvement Committee." The Pennsylvania Roadside Council objected.

On July 27, 1942, Judge J. Paul Rupp denied the application. He held that the purpose of the billboard corporation, notwithstanding the professed purpose to be inferred from its name, was "commercial," and that the name itself was "deceptively similar" to that of the genuine "civic" organization.

This attempt on the part of the billboard people, thus blocked, was in line with their earlier organization in the middle west of a "Highway Property Owners' Association" for the purpose of having an organization with an innocent name which could obstruct anti-billboard legislation, and also in line with their promotion of ostensible tourist-cabin owners' associations which would block highway zoning legislation. In case of hostile legislation the members of these groups are notified by the billboard interests and are expected to turn out large batches of protests to the legislators, but not as coming from billboard interests.

ALBERT S. BARD, *Counsel*
National Roadside Council

### *Soldier Vote Bill Adopted*

The service men's absentee voting bill, adopted by the national House of Representatives on September 9 by a vote of 247 to 53 after having been amended in the Senate, was adopted on September 10 by the latter body. The outstanding amendment was suspension for service men of the poll tax laws of eight southern states. Registration requirements were also waived for members of the armed forces and their women's auxiliaries. Absentee voting for those in foreign service was authorized, over War Department opposition.

### *Committee Urges Protection of Public Records*

The National Committee on Conservation of Cultural Resources, connected with the National Resources Planning Board, has issued a bulletin urging the initiation in each state of a program for the protection of state and local public records, and suggesting various methods of so doing, particularly in the present emergency.

### *Public Works Congress Plans Program*

The American Public Works Association holds its forty-eighth annual conference in Cleveland, October 18-21. It will be devoted exclusively to the problems confronting public works officials during the war.

### *New York Regional Institutes Meet*

Twelve regional institutes for elective officials and heads of departments of New York State cities and villages are being held in the period from September 10 to November 20.

**Citizen Action**
*Edited by Elwood N. Thompson*

# Lowell Citizens Map Manager Campaign

***Defeat opposition effort to keep issue off ballot***

LOWELL, Massachusetts, a city of 101,000 population, will vote November 3 on the adoption of Massachusetts' Plan E optional charter, providing for council-manager government and proportional representation. The neighboring city of Cambridge, now in its first year of manager government, is the only Plan E city in the state.

Lowell, once widely known as the "spindle city," was one of the leading cotton textile manufacturing centers in the country and experienced a century's steady growth until World War I. At that time, due to increasing competition from the south and a change in the fabric buying habits of the country, Lowell began a twenty-year decline. Gradually it became a city of empty mills and the booming twenties were only faintly reflected in its economy. The population declined rapidly—from 112,759 in 1920 to 100,234 in 1940—and the number of citizens employed locally even more rapidly.

By 1926 property valuations had reached their peak and since then have dropped from $146,000,000 to $93,000,000. High tax rates, which at one time reached a peak of $48.80, have still further depressed real estate values and the rate is still $46 per thousand. The net result is that market values are considerably lower than assessed valuations. Tax collections are poor and foreclosures and tax sales numerous.

The problems which the city has been called on to solve are admittedly greater than in most localities, and it is not surprising that its weak-mayor charter has not produced officials capable of dealing with them.

Lowell's continued existence as a large city is dependent to a great extent on the existence of local industries. City officials have been unable to check the migration of textile industries from Lowell or to attract new industries to the city. Mills have stood idle or have been torn down. Relief rolls have mounted to proportions beyond the ability of the people to support.

With so much of the city's revenues diverted to this non-productive service the ordinary services of the city have suffered. Streets are in poor condition, water has deteriorated in quality, waste and refuse collections are irregular, and educational standards have fallen.

During the past twenty years there have been few outstanding men in public office. In recent years the council has lost what prestige it formerly had, and for the most part the leaders of the community will not offer themselves for public service. As a result of the district attorney's recently completed investigation of contracts and purchasing, the mayor and purchasing agent are under indictment.

These circumstances have finally aroused Lowell citizens to undertake a movement for a new charter. Constructive action developed after Colonel John B. Atkinson, city manager of Cambridge, addressed a large gathering of business men in Lowell. His approach to municipal problems and the accomplishments he could point to in his short term of office convinced most of those present that if Lowell could do as well the effort would be worthwhile.

The newspapers undertook an educational program. The *Sunday Telegram* printed a series of articles on the results obtained with council-manager government elsewhere. The *Lowell Sun* ran articles describing the workings of P. R. and Plan E. Walter J. Millard

also spoke on the plan to a joint meeting of service clubs.

In May of this year a series of meetings were held which attracted citizens from all political, social, and economic groups. In June a representative committee was formed to work for the adoption of Plan E. (Massachusetts cities may adopt Plan E by referendum upon the submission of a petition signed by 10 per cent of the registered voters.)

During June and July a petition was circulated by volunteers and members of the committee. The public reaction was for the most part favorable. On the other hand, many citizens had their attention focussed on international affairs and were not ready to take an active part in the campaign. Most of the early work, therefore, was done by a few conscientious men who gave a great deal of their time to the job.

There was little active opposition at the outset. Some opponents talked of circulating a petition for another standard charter providing the commission plan to head off Plan E, but no action was taken.

At the end of July a petition containing 7,400 names—2,000 more than required—was filed with the city clerk. It was not until then that active opposition developed. Since then the opposition has used every means at its command to prevent the question from appearing on the ballot. Those who signed the petition have been approached to withdraw their names and in some cases boycott has been hinted at. The sufficiency of the petition and its legality were attacked before the City Election Commission and the State Ballot Law Commission.

The validity of the petition has now been upheld, however, and the question will appear on the ballot at the state election in November. If a majority of those voting are in favor of the change the first election for the council under proportional representation will take place in November 1943, and the new government will be inaugurated in January 1944.

Conditions in Lowell and the temper of the people are such that a well planned campaign can secure adoption of the plan this year. The type of campaign waged and the amount of work done before November will determine the result.

Those who have undertaken this task are convinced that their city must be revitalized if it is not to go into a permanent decline. They believe that some attempt should be made to change the course of events and they have decided that the adoption of Plan E is a start in that process. They are fully aware that the charter change itself is not the entire solution. If the plan is adopted their real job will begin. They must see that the right candidates are nominated and elected. They must see that the purposes of the citizens' group are carried out. However, they are not planning too far ahead right now. A campaign to change the Lowell charter is a large order in itself.

HENRY W. CONNOR, *Executive Director*
Lowell Taxpayers Association

---

### *Cincinnati Launches Charter News Letter*

After eighteen years of operation on the theory that house organs are a drug on the market, the **City Charter Committee of Cincinnati** has finally seen the light and has launched its own news publication.

Under the title, *The Charter News Letter*, the Committee once a month since early spring has issued a succinct four-page summary of latest developments in Cincinnati's municipal affairs. The reception given the letter has been such that it is rapidly becoming a major feature of the Committee's organizational activity.

Its publication is to some extent one

of the incidental and unforeseen by-products of the war. Since its inception the Charter Committee has depended largely on the daily papers of Cincinnati for the dissemination of news among its members. Today, however, news space is being reduced by dwindling advertising and rising production costs. At the same time war news has taken priority over all but the most essential local news.

Meanwhile, the Charter Committee itself, after having been in control of Cincinnati's municipal government since 1925, on January 1 of this year became the minority in a five-four City Council.

### Publicity Problem

Its altered status along with the newspaper situation combined to present a first-rate publicity problem to Charter leaders. As one solution the Board of Directors of the Committee, after considerable deliberation, authorized experimentation with a special publication. Development of details was left to the Board's Publicity Committee, of which the executive director is chairman.

A comprehensive survey of current usage in the field of organization publicity led to the uncomfortable conclusion that much of it has little interest or value for the general reader. But among the many types of house organs and information pieces in circulation, the so-called news letter seemed to rank consistently high in reader interest.

Accordingly, this form was adopted as a starting point. The limitation on Charter activities, which proscribed all but local affairs, narrowed the scope of subject matter and virtually determined the contents of the *Letter*.

Perhaps its most commendable feature to date has been the care with which the mailing list of the *Charter News Letter* has been developed. On the theory that mistakes are bound to be made in any new undertaking and that one's closest friends are likely to be one's most understanding and helpful critics, the *News Letter* has been prepared for a carefully graded membership.

### Selected Mailing List

The total membership of the Charter Committee is approximately 9,400. However, there is a wide variation of interest and support among these 9,400 members. First issues of the *News Letter* accordingly were sent to only the most active and enthusiastic of the Charter supporters. Later issues have gone to progressively larger groups.

By the early months of 1943 it is expected that all members of the Committee will have been reached in one fashion or another to determine their interest and receptivity.

Results of this policy of selectivity have already proved its soundness. Criticisms have been friendly, interest has been quick, and the confidence of the Charter leadership in the enterprise has developed in proportion. Already Charter-supported members of the City Council are looking to the *News Letter* as an instrument of reinforcement in their contacts with their supporters. Its columns are being used to crystallize attitudes. In one notable instance the *News Letter* unified Charter sentiment to such a degree that aroused Charter Councilmen overcame the handicap of their minority position and pressed through a highly important and desirable piece of legislation.

Now that the departure with precedent has been made, a number of uses for the *News Letter* are suggesting themselves. For one thing, it should lend itself to all phases of organization work. In addition, it should become a useful educational medium in active vote campaigning. Fears that the letters themselves may at critical junc-

tures be turned against the Charter Committee or their Councilmen seem groundless.

Early issues of the *News Letter* have been photo-lithed and sent first-class mail. This, along with the Committee's preference for non-processed addressing, has kept the unit cost slightly over five cents per piece. As the mailing list increases in size, unit cost will decrease to approximately four cents, current prices holding. The prospective budget of the *Letter* is, therefore, a sizeable item for organization financing and may ultimately represent an increase of as much as 20 per cent in the Committee's budget. Some of this cost may be offset by lower costs in other organizational activities. Yet should this not prove to be the case, it is doubtful whether any of the Charter officials, in their present frame of mind, would consent to suspend publication.

In short, it can be said of the Committee that having taken a long time to "sell" itself on the idea of the *News Letter*, it will probably take just as long a time to become unsold.

FOREST FRANK, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

## *Local Citizens Aid Soldiers and Plan Postwar Assistance*[1]

Stoneham (Massachusetts) youths, waging Democracy's war on far-flung battlefronts, are today receiving pledges of support from the folks back home which should give new courage and quicken the morale of every outfit in which Stoneham men are fighting.

Here in this typical American suburban town has evolved a plan of support for men in the fighting forces, both now and after the war is over, which may well spread to other communities throughout the land.

Purpose of the Stoneham Home Front Plan may be stated briefly in the words of one of the by-laws of the Home Front Committee formed to put the plan in action:

"To provide emergency aid and assistance to the Stoneham men and women serving in the United States armed forces and their dependents during the war and during the period of readjustment to civilian life after the war; to erect a fitting memorial dedicated to the sacrifice exemplified; to further a high degree of morale, both in the armed forces and at home; and to perpetuate our faith in the principles of 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'" . . .

Here in brief is how it will operate:

After the war the 1,500 members of Stoneham's Civilian Defense Organizations will continue as a civic group for community service and to further the aims of the Stoneham Home Front Committee.

### All Groups Help

In this group will be doctors, lawyers, social service workers, and teachers. All have agreed to lend their services to help the returning service men though their period of readjustment. Other Stonehamites trained in personnel problems will assist the men in finding and using their individual talents to best advantage. And in the trust fund will be money to give any men who need it a helping hand.

There are plenty of people in Stoneham, as elsewhere, who remember too well the aftermath of the last war. They recall how the boys came home, marched once more up the main street to martial music, flag waving, and the cheers of the multitude. And they also remember that next day many of these boys began looking for jobs which didn't exist. Those sorry days of the readjustment period which followed are not forgotten.

That's probably why the good people

[1]Reprinted from *Christian Science Monitor*.

of Stoneham were eager to adopt this plan of the Home Front Committee conceived by a civic leader, himself too young to remember vividly those sad days of the other war.

**Plan Officially Adopted**

This month a special Town Meeting was called. Its primary purpose was to honor two Stoneham mothers who between them contributed nine sons to the armed forces of Uncle Sam. At the meeting the plan of the Stoneham Home Front Committee was adopted and officially written into the records of the town.

Since then Selectman Nicholas Apalakis, who conceived the plan, has received his orders to report for military duty. . . .

But the Home Front Plan, now well established, will go on. The fame of it has spread to distant parts of the country. A story about the plan, published in a syndicated column, caught the eye of Civilian Defense Chief James M. Landis in Washington and civilian defense committees throughout the country are going to hear about Stoneham's all out program to support its fighting men. . . ,

JOHN BOND, *Staff Writer*
*Christian Science Monitor*

---

## *Fitchburg Taxpayers Work on Personnel and School Problems*

Fitchburg is an industrial city of 42,000 population, located in north-central Massachusetts, noted for its paper and textile products. It is governed by a Mayor and an eleven-man City Council operating under Massachusetts' Plan B charter. An elected School Committee of six under the chairmanship of the Mayor has jurisdiction over the city school system.

The **Fitchburg Taxpayers' Association, Inc.,** was organized in 1932 by a militant group of local taxpayers who wanted efficient government at the lowest possible cost. Any property taxpayer or rentpayer may be a member. Dues are assessed on a valuation basis for sustaining members.

The organization is under the leadership of a Board of Directors, elected annually by the membership, which decides general policy.

The day-to-day operation of the Association is vested in the executive director who is responsible for all research and publicity programs as well as membership recruitment drives. In addition the technical staff of the Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers Associations offers invaluable continuing assistance to us, as to all taxpayers' groups in the state.

**Budget Recommendations**

Fundamentally our activities center around the annual city budget inasmuch as it controls directly the great bulk of city expenditures. From our budget studies and analyses come specific studies of individual departments and functions of the city government. From these studies we are able to form recommendations to city officials which will directly affect reductions in various budget accounts, and ultimately in the local tax rate.

At present we have two projects of major importance. The first is to bring about a reduction in the cost of our city school system which, at approximately $120 per pupil, is far in excess of the annual cost in other Massachusetts cities of the same size. The principal cause of this high cost per pupil is apparently due to diminishing enrollments and excess capacity rather than to excessive payrolls—about one fourth of total capacity is now unused. Our problem is, therefore, one of reorganizing the physical plant so as to be able to handle estimated enrollments with fewer schools used to maximum capacity, giving due considera-

tion to transportation facilities. A substantial reduction in maintenance costs would achieve a reasonable cost per pupil.

Our second project is the creation of a sound personnel classification and pay plan for city employees, leading eventually to the adoption of the so-called St. Paul plan for adjusting wages to the cost of living.

The hardest part of our task is to sell our recommendations to the department heads and then to the Mayor and Council. Accordingly, we find it necessary to devote a substantial amount of our time to public relations with city officials.

ARTHUR C. CONLEY,
*Executive Director*
Fitchburg Taxpayers' Association

---

### *Waterbury Association Cooperates with Officials*

In 1940 citizens of Waterbury, burened with one of the highest tax rates in the state and still recovering from the shock of a municipal conspiracy that ended in the conviction of eighteen public officials, decided to take steps against the recurrence of such civic sloth.

To meet the need for fact-finding and for citizen participation in government, a group of local business men and civic-spirited citizens organized the **Waterbury Taxpayers' Association.**

The Association opened an office on October 1, 1940, and immediately started to work on the city's annual budget which was then being formulated. Departmental budget requests were carefully analyzed. The Association worked closely with a coöperative Mayor and Board of Finance in their budget sessions. The organization was represented at all budget hearings, and presented suggestions and recommendations, asked questions, joined in the discussions on pertinent issues, and questioned department heads concerning their anticipated requirements. The Board of Finance's compiled budget resulted in a tax reduction of one and one-half mills.

#### Help with Budget

One year later, in the fall of 1941, the Association again participated in the compilation of the annual budget. This time the Board of Finance effected a tax reduction of one-quarter mill, in spite of substantial appropriations needed for emergency defense purposes and wage adjustments for lower salaried employees.

At budget time our city administration is literally snowed under with demands for increased expenditure programs.

Under these conditions, with no established organization to combat organized expenditure groups, city officials are at a loss to know just how the general rank and file of taxpayers feel. The Waterbury Taxpayers' Association considers it one of its primary functions to weigh, from the taxpayers point of view, these requests by pressure groups for funds.

Other year-round activities of the Association during its brief existence have been many. Studies of the city's bonded debt, financing the City Water Department, the Water Department rate structure, and surveys of the Assessment, Police, and Garbage Departments have been undertaken—to cite but a few examples. The number and scope of activities are limited only by the time available to the Association's small research staff. Much of its work is done as a result of requests for information by city officials.

#### Credit to Officials

The Association takes no credit for economies or governmental improvements effected. All such credit is given the public officials who have actually made such improvements possible.

Nor does the Association go after widespread publicity or issue frequent and scorching reports concerning every mistake made by city officials. Much more can be accomplished, provided a reasonable administration is in office, by merely sitting down and talking over the problems with public officials and assisting in their solution. This attitude of quiet, and largely unpublicized coöperation, is helping to attain economy and greater efficiency in government locally.

RAYMOND P. BOTCH,
*Managing Director*
Waterbury Taxpayers' Association

## Taxation and Finance

*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

# New York City Improves Annual Financial Reports

### *New form should clarify former conflicting comment*

THE complexity of the financial transactions necessary in the functioning of a large city are frequently astounding to the layman, but they pose even more serious difficulties to the public official. Unless clear and comprehensive financial reports are available neither public officials nor citizens can have information at hand to evaluate the workings of their government.

For years New York City has presented perhaps the least satisfactory situation in this respect to be found among the larger U. S. municipalities. Its financial structure is extremely complicated—only the federal government and the state of New York exceed it in size of expenditures, to cite just one aspect of the situation—while its financial reporting has been woefully inadequate.

Last year Comptroller Joseph D. McGoldrick supplemented the "archaic form" of the regular 1939-40 annual financial report with a revised edition in which an initial step was taken toward unraveling "the tangled web of monetary magic" portrayed in the older type of report. Now, with accounting changes permitting more comprehensive revision, the regular annual report for 1940-41, recently issued, has been supplemented with a revised report for that year which carries last year's volume (1939-40 figures) to a point where the changes encompass those most significant from the standpoint of public reporting.

The "regular" form of the annual report of New York City's comptroller has been inherited from the time the Greater City was established, and the only important changes had been the addition of schedules as the variety of financial transactions increased. Recently, extensive changes in accounting procedures have been made, to "modernize" the city's accounting forms and methods, and these have in turn permitted a more logical arrangement of the annual reports as well as the inclusion of data previously not directly available from the records. Thus, the revised financial report for 1940-41 is not merely a recasting of information otherwise available in more obscure form, but represents to a considerable extent a fundamental improvement in record-keeping as well.

The most important change in the new volume, aside from the fact that schedules are more logically arranged and that extensive use is made of explanatory sections, is that for the first time New York City has set up and published current account balance sheets. The lack of current account balance sheets—without which any check on budget operations is almost impossible—is a notorious feature of the annual reports of many city finance officers, and it has been a serious omis-

sion in past reports of New York City.

The balance sheets as now set up follow the general recommendations of the National Committee on Municipal Accounting, and might well be used as models by other cities. It is especially a pleasure to note that they are free of such extraneous and inflationary items as fixed assets, capital improvements, investments in property, etc., with the offsetting item of unmatured funded debt, which vitiate the usefulness of many so-called municipal balance sheets.

The balance sheets are supplemented by two excellent groups of schedules, one detailing by project the city's investment in improvements and the other giving details on the city's funded debt. In connection with the latter the city for the first time fully segregates the debt of its public service enterprises—rapid transit, water supply, markets, ferries, docks, and airports—while also giving a comprehensive breakdown of the debt incurred for governmental purposes.

Yet to be set up, however, is a fully satisfactory segregation of sinking funds as between general and public service enterprise debt, since sinking funds for a part of the latter debt are still submerged in general sinking funds. Also, the bond maturity table continues to segregate funded debt by type of instrument and ownership rather than by object or source of payment, so that there remains some revision here also for the future.

The new report form should considerably clarify the great mass of obscure and conflicting comment on New York City finances which has been the past lot of New Yorkers. The new volume runs to nearly 450 pages, so it will not prove to be exactly popular reading, but it will no longer be possible for press and public to excuse misunderstanding of the city's financial operations on the grounds that neither head nor tail can be made of the annual reports.

---

### *Census Bureau Reports 1942 State Collections*

Establishing something of a record for speedy compilation of financial data, the Division of State and Local Government of the Bureau of the Census published on August 31 its *State Finances: 1942,* which includes data of the forty-one states whose fiscal years closed on or near June 30, 1942.

Briefly, the data show that state tax collections in 1942, including distributions to local units, topped $4,900,000,000, an increase of 10 per cent over 1941. The most marked increase was in corporation income taxes, up 67 per cent. Individual income taxes were up only 14.5 per cent, while tobacco excises were up 22 per cent, alcoholic beverage taxes were up about 13 per cent, and general sales tax collections were up 11 per cent. Net collections for unemployment compensation were up 20 per cent. Little change was shown by motor vehicle and operator licenses, and the rationing of motor fuel in the coastal states checked the generally upward movement of gasoline tax collections. Chain store taxes were down one-third, while property taxes, hunting and fishing licenses, severence taxes, and death and gift levies were also off from 6 to 14 per cent.

Eight states had increases of more than 20 per cent in their collections. They were Washington, 40 per cent; Arizona, 30 per cent; Mississippi, 28 per cent; Oklahoma, 27 per cent; Arkansas, 24 per cent; and Oregon, South Carolina, and Tennessee, 22 per cent each. On the other hand, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, New Mexico, New York, and South Dakota had or were estimated to have increases of less than 6 per cent.

The upward trend of collections, it

must be noted, is for a period which only partially reflects the beginning of wartime restrictions. Seven of the states included had fiscal years ended between September 1 and December 31, 1941, while even those with fiscal years ending June 30, 1942, had only begun to show the effects of such depressing influences as tire rationing, gasoline rationing, curtailment of civilian consumer goods, etc. Consequently, the over-all picture for the period must not be regarded as forecasting 1943 trends.

### *Tennessee Taxpayers Analyze Coverage for Highway Debt*

Comment has been made frequently in these columns that the effect of revenue declines, especially of motor vehicle and gasoline taxes, will vary greatly from state to state, depending as much on the fiscal setup in the individual state as on the extent of the decline in collections. This fact is very pointedly emphasized by a study made by the Tennessee Taxpayers Association.

The Association, stung by a story in a New York City financial journal to the effect that prospective declines in the state gas tax collections forecast trouble in meeting service on state highway bonds, prepared a detailed analysis of the actual situation. This study shows that of six revenues specifically earmarked for service on the bonds (in addition, the bonds are full faith and credit obligations for which any state revenues may be used) only two have actually been used in the past, while in 1941-42 two others were drawn on to provide a cushion for possible declines.

Gasoline taxes have been providing the bulk of debt funds, but over the next four years these collections could decline an average of 52.48 per cent before the state would have to utilize the other pledged revenues in order to meet scheduled payments for interest and maintain sinking funds. Furthermore, such a decline would not be unduly upsetting to the operating accounts presently financed with those gas tax receipts not required for debt, since war restrictions will force a sharp reduction in ordinary highway expenditures and the state has a reasonable expectation that such curtailed operating expenditures for the purpose as may be possible can be financed from other revenues.

The situation is paralleled in numerous other states, and it cannot be too much emphasized that reliance cannot be placed on revenue collection trends as an indicator of the weight of fiscal difficulties to be expected. Relatively small declines in collections can cause extreme embarrassment in some states, while in others—as in Tennessee as cited—very large declines can be experienced before difficulties need be expected.

## County and Township

*Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

# New York Counties under Civil Service

### *Supervisors choose type of administration desired*

DEADLINE for counties in New York State to select one of three alternatives for administering personnel under the state civil service law of 1941, extending the merit system to all civil divisions of New York, came on July 1, 1942.

Currently all counties are busily engaged in the task of classifying positions, developing rules of administration, and establishing employee rosters. While any county can begin full operation as soon as its classification plan and rules are approved by the State Civil Service Commission, not until July

1, 1943, must each and every county be completely operative.

Under the law also, some eight thousand school districts were placed directly under the State Civil Service Department for all personnel services.

Under the provisions of the law[1] the five counties located within New York City remain, as heretofore, state-serviced. Westchester County retains its personnel officer form and Nassau County the commission form. Both these counties secured their forms of personnel administration by charter prior to the passage of the 1941 law.

All other counties were permitted to choose whether they desired: (1) state administration, (2) A county civil service commission, or (3) a personnel officer to perform personnel services. Forty-eight counties chose the civil service commission; two chose the personnel officer, and five chose the state to administer personnel services.

Under the personnel officer form, technical services are to be performed by the state, and it is the consensus of opinion that the county civil service commissions also will draw heavily upon the state department through its Municipal Service Bureau for all types of personnel servicing. This has proved to be the case up to the present time.

Through continuous assistance from the state, uniformity of procedure is being achieved. As the great majority of the new county commissions have established a permanent clerical staff, continuity of administration is to be expected, and through its Municipal Service Bureau the state Civil Service Commission will provide continuous administrative and technical assistance.

WILLIAM W. SHAW, *Assistant Director*
Municipal Service Bureau
New York State Department
of Civil Service

[1]See NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, May 1941, pp. 253-257, 274; April 1942, p. 233.

## *Maryland County Charter Subject of Bitter Struggle*

Montgomery County, Maryland, is experiencing a bitter contest revolving around the proposal to adopt a county home rule charter. Proponents of the new charter are circulating petitions for signatures sufficient to put the question of appointing a special charter committee on the ballot at the general election this November. This committee would draft changes or a complete charter which would be submitted to the electorate in 1944. Most of the opposition is arising from incumbent officeholders, while the proponents are organized into the Independent party.

## *Counties Construct Airports*

Recently many state legislatures, under guidance from the federal government, have granted extended powers to counties regarding construction and operation of airports. The laws of some states permit two or more counties to act jointly, and in other instances counties are directed to coöperate with municipalities.

As a result of active search for sponsors conducted by the Civil Aeronautics Administration, such airports now are being constructed throughout the United States. Since the federal government requires that the airports be publicly-owned without encumbrances, the land has been acquired by local units through grant, purchase, condemnation, and lease from acceptable government agencies. Money has been raised by borrowing, taxes, and public subscription. In the first six months of 1941 over $15,000,000 in bonds were sold for airport purposes.

There are thirty-two airports established jointly by cities and counties. The number established by one or more counties has not been ascertained, but it is known to be substantial. Coöp-

eration by as many as four units is not at all unusual. Thus Durham County, Wake County, Raleigh, and Durham, North Carolina, are each contributing $35,000 for an airport to be operated by them jointly and located between the two cities. The remaining cost is being borne by the Civil Aeronautics Administration and the Work Projects Administration.

Usually a committee or commission is appointed by the governing bodies of the units involved to operate the airport. Equipment such as county road machinery frequently is found indispensable. The operation of airports may well become one of the major functions of county government. If the master program of the Civil Aeronautics Administration is ever completed, there will be one and one-third airports for every county in the United States.

---

### *War Spurs County Planning and Zoning*

"No house trailer, except when in a licensed trailer camp, no garage, no barn, or any other accessory building shall be used as a dwelling except for the housing of domestic servants or other persons employed on the premises." This provision of the ordinance establishing the El Paso County, Colorado, Planning Commission (Colorado Springs) illustrates the nature of the problem arising throughout the United States wherever military cantonments or new war factories are being built. War conditions are forcing counties to engage in planning and zoning in spite of the opposition of those interests who still argue it is destructive of property rights, discriminatory, unconstitutional, and unAmerican.

The urgent necessity of county planning and zoning is demonstrated further by the fact that while until 1941 Colorado did not have a single county planning or zoning commission, within a year's time such commissions were established in Jefferson, Arapahoe, and El Paso Counties. There is now being built in the last-named county a military cantonment which will house a population equaling that of Colorado Springs.

In the eastern states comparable problems and comparable solutions are developing. The experience of Pennsylvania counties may be used to illustrate the nature of the trend. Of course some of the metropolitan counties have well established planning commissions. Thus the Allegheny County Planning Commission, the oldest in the state, has been functioning actively for many years. In other instances rural counties have joined with municipal commissions as in the coöperation of Cumberland and Dauphin Counties with the Harrisburg Regional Planning Commission. Recently Lycoming, Union, and Northumberland Counties have established a Regional Planning Commission to cope with problems created by federal government developments in their area.

The Bradford County Planning and Zoning Commission, although established in 1938, recently has seen fit to turn its attention to war and postwar planning. Crawford County, a rural county faced with an influx of 8,000 to 10,000 workers to be employed in a new TNT plant, has just passed a zoning ordinance applicable only to that area directly affected by the new factory.

Similar trends are discernible elsewhere. Although county planning and zoning is not new, the war has modified its nature and has given it renewed impetus. It seems safe to assume that barring catastrophe counties will not after the war relinquish this newly developed function.

**Proportional Representation**
*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.*
**(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)**

# Lowell to Vote on "Plan E" Adoption

## *Success in Cambridge P. R. Prospects in Britain*

IN SPITE of the distractions of the war there will be one vote on the adoption of proportional representation this fall. The industrial city of Lowell, Massachusetts, (1940 population 100,234) will ballot on November 3 on the adoption of "Plan E," the optional form of city government based on the council-manager plan with P. R. which is now in force in Cambridge. The question has been brought to a vote in Lowell by petition.

The critical situation which led to this campaign and the progress of the campaign to date are described by Henry W. Connor, executive director of the Lowell Taxpayers' Association, in an article on page 511 of this issue.

Other Massachusetts cities which were considering Plan E campaigns before Pearl Harbor, including Springfield, Worcester, Gloucester, Holyoke, Chicopee, West Roxbury, and Hatfield, have had to postpone action because of the preoccupation of leading citizens with war activities. The same is true of Boston, which is not yet authorized to adopt Plan E, but which had in prospect a campaign for the adoption of P. R. for its council and school committee and the corresponding Hare system of preferential voting for the election of the mayor.

### *Cambridge City Manager Reports*

The vote on the P. R.–city manager combination this fall in Lowell, and the votes in Springfield and other Massachusetts cities which are planning campaigns for Plan E as soon as the war is over, are likely to be profoundly affected by what happens in Cambridge, the first Massachusetts city to adopt the plan.

Col. John B. Atkinson, city manager of Cambridge appointed by the first P. R. council last January, recently made the following brief report on the encouraging progress made so far, which was published on August 31 by the *Boston News Bureau:*

"It took twenty years to bring Cambridge into its present situation, and during that time taxes rose over 50 per cent. It cannot be expected that a complete change can take place in seven short months.

"On taking my post in January as city manager, I found myself confronted with a city spending about 85 per cent of its money for payroll, leaving a scant 15 per cent otherwise to run the city—to build roads and maintain them, and to heat, maintain, and take care of the buildings, and to carry out the countless other tasks which a municipality has to perform.

"One of the first jobs I tackled was a general clean-up of all city property. From the City Hall to the garages, there was an apparent lack of interest on the part of employees, so that complete deterioration was well on the way. This situation has been corrected and it is doubtful if anywhere cleaner municipal buildings can be found.

"The laying of a new lawn for City Hall, along with twenty-five or more attractive flower gardens at various points throughout the city, has been effected.

"An attempt has been made, and considerable success has been achieved, in generating active interest and pride in their jobs on the part of city employees, so that real work is being done in all departments.

"The program of replacing only absolutely essential employees and doubling up on jobs of those who have joined the armed services, or who have been pensioned or died, has resulted in a reduction of close to 5 per cent in the personnel of the city's workers. This, in itself, is a very substantial saving.

**Confidence Developed**

"Confidence in the present administration has been evidenced by the local banks, which, for the first time in over twenty years, have voluntarily come in and handled short-term paper for the city. Our notes have been sold at the low rate of less than four-tenths of 1 per cent per annum. In the previous year, $1,282,000 was borrowed by the preceding city government on a long-term basis, although $675,000 was actually used to supplement the budget in order to save the tax rate from going over $50 per $1000 of property valuation.

"Thus far this year no long-term money has been borrowed whatsoever, and it is my intention to try to keep the city on a cash basis, if possible. This accomplishment has been aided by efforts to secure employment for hundreds on welfare and WPA rolls. If I am able to carry the city through the rest of the year without borrowing, except for welfare or defense purposes, the amount which the city will have to raise in next year's tax rate to pay off maturing debt will be substantially less than this year.

"All persons on welfare were obliged to take a physical examination at our hospital clinic. Thus, those who were in need of medical attention were immediately given it, and those who were found able to work were placed on the list at the Municipal Employment Office and jobs found for them.

"The result has been that hundreds on welfare and WPA rolls have been provided with employment, and a real rehabilitation program has been initiated for many Cambridge residents.

"In the meantime, reclassification of all city employees has been started, with a minimum and a maximum base for all, so that pay increases will be received automatically and employees will not be obliged to seek political help to obtain increases."

## *New York Plan Urged for the House of Commons*

The annual report of the British Proportional Representation Society[1] published in June for the year 1941-1942 gives principal attention to the inclusion of P. R. in the war cabinet's plan for India submitted to the Indian leaders by Sir Stafford Cripps, already reported in this department for April, and to the prospects of P. R. being adopted for the postwar House of Commons. The following excerpts from the report will be of interest to Americans not only because of the international importance of the subject but because of the practical use they make of the experience of New York City:

"His Majesty's Government have already offered to Parliament an opportunity 'if it so desires,' to consider changes in the method of electing the House of Commons. This offer, first made in 1940, was renewed in October 1941 by the Home Secretary when he introduced the new *Prolongation of Parliament Bill*. During the discussion several members of Parliament pressed for the setting up of some suitable machinery for investigating and probing all these different problems. The most suitable machinery would seem to be a conference consisting of members of all parties presided over by the Speaker. Such a conference could review the elections of the last twenty

[1] 82 Victoria St., London, S. W. 1.

years; it could recommend the changes necessary to ensure that the postwar House of Commons shall be representative.

**Difficulties of Reapportionment**

"After the passing of the *Prolongation of Parliament Bill,* the Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, appointed a committee to consider the technical questions involved in the preparation of a new register and of a new redistribution of parliamentary seats. The chairman of the committee is Sir Sylvanus Vivian, the Registrar-General, and the committee includes officials of the departments concerned, members of Parliament, and the principal agents of each of the political parties.

"In respect of redistribution the committee was asked to examine the problems involved in any scheme 'by way of preparation for consideration of the principles on which any scheme should be based.' It may be observed that there are several principles on which redistribution could be carried out. The basis might be population, or electorate, or the number of people voting; constituences might return one member each, or more than one member.

"Apparently the problem before the committee is to discover whether there are any practical means of holding a general election within a reasonably short period after the termination of hostilities, should there be a public demand for an early election.

"The war has given rise to special difficulties. Thousands of citizens have been evacuated and after the war there may be new and early movements of population. There may, moreover, be large forces serving overseas.

"The Secretary of the Society, therefore, forwarded to the chairman of the Morrison committee a suggestion which would meet these special, if temporary, problems, and which would enable a reasonably early election to be held.

"The task of preparing a new register could be avoided by the use of the existing identity cards. This would enable all persons over twenty-one years of age to vote in the constituency in which they were residing at the time of the election.

**Voting Strength an Easy Basis**

"As to redistribution, the temporary and continuing changes in population and the absence of large numbers serving overseas make difficult the framing of a satisfactory scheme based upon population. This difficulty could be overcome by basing representation on the number of persons actually voting in an election.

"This principle was adopted in 1937 by the city of New York for the election of its city council. New York decided that each of its constituent boroughs should be a constituency and that each constituency should have one councilman for every 75,000 votes polled in the election. Under this scheme the boroughs of Queens and Brooklyn have obtained for the first time an equitable share of the representation. Redistribution has become automatic; at each election every growing area secures the increase in representation to which it is entitled.

"At the same time New York adopted the proportional system of voting. Without this Tammany would probably have monopolized the representation. With the proportional system minorities of a substantial kind secured their fair share. The purpose of redistribution, equality in the value of votes, was achieved.

"How would this plan work if applied to parliamentary elections in Great Britain? First, it would require the grouping together of the existing single-member divisions into new con-

stituencies of such a size as to be likely to return, generally speaking, some three, four, or five members each. A schedule of grouped divisions was prepared and approved by the House of Lords in 1918, and this schedule could be modified to suit present-day conditions. Under the House of Lords scheme, sparsely populated areas were not grouped; they remained as single-member divisions.

"Secondly, each constituency formed of grouped divisions would elect by the single transferable vote system of P. R. one member for, say, each 40,000 votes polled and an additional member for any remainder exceeding, say, one-half. If desired, some concession, such as a smaller quota, could be made to rural constituencies.

"The scheme encourages citizens to vote. By polling well, a constituency can increase its representation. In 1939 the borough of Brooklyn, New York, polled some 530,000 votes and secured seven councilmen. In 1941 it increased its poll to 660,000 and secured nine councilmen. The number of votes polled in Brooklyn far exceeds the number likely to be polled in Great Britain in any P. R. constituency."

The fact that Prime Minister Winston Churchill is an avowed advocate of P. R., as evidenced by the quotations given in this department in April, increases the chance that this constructive proposal will receive proper attention.

---

**P.R. gives representation to fractions with a sense of the whole instead of factions with a delusion of totality. FATHER EDWARD DOWLING, S.J., The Sodality of Our Lady, St. Louis.**

## *Annual Meeting of the P. R. League*

For many years the Proportional Representation League, Inc., whose work since 1932 has been consolidated with that of the National Municipal League, has held its annual meeting as a part of the latter's annual convention. In view of the decision not to hold such a convention this year, no attempt will be made to assemble the usual number of leading proportionalists from all parts of the country or to arrange an elaborate P. R. program.

However, a number of the National Municipal League's committees are planning to meet in New York City some time this fall and arrangements will be made to hold the annual P. R. meeting at the same time so that some of those coming from a distance may meet with proportionalists in New York, Yonkers, and nearby communities. Definite information on the exact time and place will be sent shortly to P. R. League members and any others who ask to receive such notice.

In addition to the formal election of P. R. League trustees, there will be a report on the year's P. R. developments by the League's secretary, the editor of this department, and general informal discussion of such subjects as the place of P. R. in postwar democracy and world organization.

All who are interested are cordially invited to attend whether members of the Proportional Representation League or not. Any member of the National Municipal League in good standing may become enrolled as a full voting member of the P. R. League simply by writing to Miss Elsie S. Parker, assistant secretary and treasurer of the P. R. League, his desire to do so. Miss Parker is in the office of the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York City.

# Books in Review

**Edited by ELSIE S. PARKER**

**Federal State Local Fiscal Relations.** By Thomas H. Reed. A report for the Committee on Local Government Activities and Revenues. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1942. iv, 65 pp. mimeo. $1.

This report, the third prepared for the Committee on Local Government Activities and Revenues of the Municipal Finance Officers Association for the guidance of the President's Committee on Federal-State-Local Fiscal Relationships, is described as drawn from the "information and experience available within the files and membership" of the MFOA. Actually, Dr. Reed has drawn on a far wider field to prepare an excellent and compact discussion of the revenue systems under which local governments function.

A very considerable part of the study is necessarily devoted to fiscal problems posed by the war, or made especially acute by war conditions, but Dr. Reed amply demonstrates that the problem of local revenue systems is not peculiar to a war or postwar period. In three chapters, on expenditures, on revenues, and on federal and state aid, the weaknesses and strength of our present systems of financing local government are examined and some concrete suggestions developed for immediate action on the part of all three levels of government. Recommendations on the continuing problem of federal and state action seem especially significant:

"(1) Minimizing of stimulating grants and those for specific purposes in favor of distributive grants frankly intended to offset the narrow scope of local taxing power without diminishing local initiative and responsibility; (2) removal of crippling restrictions from real estate taxation and encouragement of its normal use in all communities; (3) consolidation of the smaller and poorer units of local government and the integration of metropolitan areas; (4) rehabilitation of blighted areas both by the reorientation of policies now unduly encouraging the outward movement of population and by positive postwar measures."

W. S. S.

---

**Tax Systems** (Ninth Edition). Edited by The Tax Research Foundation. Chicago and New York City, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1942. ix, 382 pp. (12x15). $8.75.

This new edition of *Tax Systems*, following the pattern of earlier editions, presents a comprehensive and informative collection of tax data.

The volume includes over two hundred detailed, large-scale charts which set forth the legal citation, title, basis, measure, rate, administration, return and due dates for all federal and state taxes, together with other pertinent information.

Also shown are federal and state tax collection data for six consecutive years, collected from tax officials in different governmental units. Basic figures are broken down to show amounts collected by various units of government, yields by taxes in actual amounts and percentages, and per capita collections.

Arrangement of information by states and by types of taxes makes the volume particularly convenient for easy reference.

Tax figures are included for the Dominion of Canada and its nine provinces as well as the latest available information on the tax revenues of twenty Latin American countries.

Editorial direction of the work, compiled by tax experts and specialists who contributed their time and services, was by the New York State Tax Commission.

## Additional Books and Pamphlets

### *Courts*

**Report on the Constitutional Courts of the State of New Jersey.** By Ralph R. Temple. Trenton, Commission on Revision of the New Jersey Constitution, 1942. 66 pp.

**Young People in the Courts of New York State.** Report to the Honorable Legislature of the State of New York of the Joint Legislative Committee to Examine into, Investigate and Study the Existing Facilities for the Care and Treatment of Children. Albany, New York, 1942. 309 pp.

### *Majority Rule*

**John Locke and the Doctrine of Majority Rule.** By Willmore Kendall. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1941. 141 pp. $1.50.

### *Municipal Government*

**Investigating Municipal Administration.** A Study of the New York City Department of Investigation. By Harold Seidman. New York City, Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1941. xv, 215 pp. $2.50.

**Municipal Government in Time of War.** By Roy V. Peel. Bloomington, The Institute of Politics, Department of Government, Indiana University, 1942. 35 pp. mimeo.

**The Problem of The Cities and Towns.** Report of the Conference on Urbanism. Edited by Guy Greer. Cambridge, Harvard University, 1942. xi, 116 pp. $1.

### *Parking Meters*

**The Effect of Rationing on Parking Meter Revenues.** Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association, 1942. 4 pp. 25 cents.

### *Planning*

**City Planning Kansas City, Missouri, 1920-1941.** Kansas City, City Plan Commission, 1942. 40 pp. maps, charts.

**City Wide Studies:** Part I, Basic Factors in the Planning of the City of New York, 1934-1938; Part II, The Planning of Public Services; Part III, Programming Public Improvements. New York City, Mayor's Committee on City Planning, 1940 (distributed 1942). 148, 132, and 87 pp. respectively.

**Forty-four Cities in the City of Chicago.** Chicago, Chicago Plan Commission, 1942. 98 pp. illus.

**Six-Year Public Work Program for Benton Harbor, Michigan.** Continuous Planning of Public Work. Report of the Planning, Coördination and Development Committee to the City Commission and the Board of Education. Benton Harbor, 1942. 35 pp. charts.

**Now Is the Time to Plan.** First Steps to a Master Plan for San Francisco. San Francisco, Master Planning Committee of the San Francisco Housing and Planning Association. 16 pp. illus. 25 cents.

### *State-Local Relations*

**State Supervision of Local Government.** Its Development in Massachusetts. By Dale Pontius, with an introduction by Leverett Saltonstall. Washington, D. C., American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. xi, 165 pp. Cloth $3.25, paper $2.75.

### *Taxation and Finance*

**Civic Pittsburgh.** Facts and Figures About Your Business. By J. C. Slippy.

Pittsburgh, 1942. 20 pp. 50 cents. (Apply to author).

**A Conspectus of Failing Finances.** The Impression of American Tax Administrators Regarding the Effect of the Federal Defense Program upon State Revenue Sources. By George Vaughan. Little Rock, Arkansas, Governor Adkins' Advisory Tax Study Commission, 1942. 45 pp. mimeo.

**What's Happening to State Revenues?** Edited by Mabel L. Walker. Philadelphia, Tax Institute, University of Pennsylvania, 1942. 9 pp. 25 cents.

---

*Transportation*

**Transportation in the Public Interest.** By Grover C. Dillman, Harry E. Stocker, and John S. Worley. Washington, D. C., National Highway Users Conference, 1942. 38 pp.

---

*War and Defense*

**Directory of War Agencies in Denver.** Denver, The War Committee of the City Club, 1942. 35 pp.

**Facts and Figures on War Finance.** New York City, The Tax Foundation, 1942. 37 pp.

**Official War Publications.** (Second Supplement to **Official Defense Publications**). By Jerome K. Wilcox. Berkeley, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, 1942. 212 pp. mimeo.

**Public Policy.** A Yearbook of the Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University. Part I, War Morale and Civil Liberties; Part II, Labor and the War; Part III, Some Problems of War Finance and Government. Edited by Carl J. Friedrich and Edward S. Mason; Associate Editor, Pendleton Herring. vii, 275 pp. $3.

**Training Through Recreation.** A Practical Handbook for the New Soldier. By William J. Pitt. New York City Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942. 74 pp. 35 cents.

## CHAPEL HILL MANAGER COOPERATES

(Continued from Page 496)

council and over its protest. The council then passed a resolution providing that all removals by the manager should be subject to its approval. The manager resigned in fruitless protest, but probably was vindicated later by being elected and remaining mayor of Chapel Hill for an extended term.

The manager plan has not produced startling results for Chapel Hill. It has solved some problems very satisfactorily, but others remain. It seems well adapted to conduct the continuing negotiations with the university. On the other hand, the problem of extending municipal boundaries to include all residents of the expanding community is being brought no nearer to solution.

The temperament of the townspeople is clearly against overdevelopment of public works, but modernization in the form of street improvement, expansion of the sewerage system, etc., has taken place gradually as necessity required.

The administration is considered reasonably efficient, and if its work has been unspectacular it is because the community wants it that way. Chapel Hill prefers to remain a placid village in which unpretentiousness, simplicity, and rustic beauty shall be the prevailing physical characteristics. This calls for a modicum of governmental activity, and the manager plan in Chapel Hill well serves its purpose by administering competently those few functions demanded of the town by its residents.